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As Arms Pact Nears In Geneva, Reagan Vows To Deploy SDI

By Joel Brinkley New York Times Service WASHINGTON — Two weeks before his summit conference with the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, President Ronald Reagan vowed on Monday to deploy the space-based anti-missile system that the Soviet Union adamantly opposes.



George P. Shultz, right, and Eduard A. Shevardnadze in Geneva on Monday at a meeting designed to put the finishing touches on an arms agreement.

Pact Fails To Excite Markets

Traders Express Skepticism on Deficit Accord

NEW YORK — The world's financial markets reacted uncertainly Monday to a two-year plan to reduce the U.S. budget deficit by \$76 billion. Prices on the New York Stock Exchange rose slightly, but the dollar edged downward.

Japanese Learn a Lesson: Spend More, Save Less

By Patrick L. Smith International Herald Tribune TOKYO — The boutiques are piled 10 stories high, the firms are usually foreign and the restaurant fare ranges from hamburgers to English tea sandwiches.

Kiosk U.S. to Pay UN \$100 Million

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The United States promised Monday to pay at least \$100 million next month in contributions it owes to the United Nations, which is undergoing a major budget crisis.



President José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador, who strongly criticized returning rebel civilian leaders. Page 2.

South Korea Economy Brushes Off Labor Unrest

By Clyde Haberman New York Times Service SEOUL — Despite hand-wringing here last summer about the potential harm created by a surge of labor unrest, South Korea's economy has weathered the crisis with aplomb.

Atlanta Prison Besieged As Cuban Unrest Spreads

ATLANTA — Cuban prisoners fearing deportation took over most of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on Monday.



President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, in dark suit, with President Hosni Mubarak, left, continuing a visit to Egypt that began Monday despite the reports of a serious riot earlier this month in Brasov, Romania's second-largest city.

Atlanta Prison Besieged As Cuban Unrest Spreads

Atlanta Prison Besieged As Cuban Unrest Spreads ATLANTA — Cuban prisoners fearing deportation took over most of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on Monday.

Reports of a Riot Trickle From Romania

By Barry James International Herald Tribune Thousands of Romanians protesting against harsh living conditions took over the center of Brasov, the country's second-largest city, for three hours earlier this month and ransacked the regional party headquarters in the country's most serious outbreak of rioting in 10 years, travelers and Western analysts said Monday.

Vertical sidebar containing various advertisements and notices, including 'LOW COST FLIGHTS', 'HOTELS', 'PAGE 5 FOR MORE CLASSIFIEDS', and 'Tribune' logo.

Volume was 143 million shares, well down from 189 million on Friday. It was the slowest session since 141.9 million shares changed hands on Oct. 12.

The dollar, meanwhile, closed in New York at 1.6740 Deutsche marks, down from 1.6825 DM on Friday, and at 134.80 Japanese yen, down from 135.60.

Trading was thin, with the dollar confined to narrow ranges, currency dealers said. The traders voiced disappointment with the accord, but said they were wary of selling the dollar too aggressively.

"I find it quite tricky so I'm not in any rush to do anything," said a senior dealer for a British bank.

The influential Tokyo stock market was closed for a holiday. Prices fell a sharp 3.3 percent on the Hong Kong stock exchange, but rose 1.3 percent on the London Stock Exchange.

Analysts in several cities said that investors were waiting for more details on the budget package.

Congress has estimated the deficit for fiscal 1987, which ended Sept. 30, at \$149.7 billion. The plan would reduce the budget deficit by \$30 billion in fiscal 1988 and by \$46 billion in fiscal 1989.

Some legislators said that approval of the agreement by Congress would be conditioned on President Ronald Reagan's ability to persuade members of his own party to back it.

Some Republicans have complained that the accord would cut too much from the military budget and raise taxes too much.

Representative Jack F. Kemp of New York, a Republican presidential candidate, said Monday he would fight the plan "every step of the way, even if it means opposing some of the leaders of my own party."

And Senator William L. Armstrong, a Republican of Colorado, said, "I am deeply disappointed. 'Frankly, it is a disgrace and gives compromise a bad name,'" he said.

Senator John C. Danforth, a Republican of Missouri, said of his congressional colleagues, "I think people hate to cut the budget."

"People like to find some way out, some way of getting around it, of weaseling out," he said.

Mr. Danforth, a member of the Senate Budget Committee, said in a television interview that the political pressure on Congress to implement the accord is mounting.

See BUDGET, Page 10

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See ROMANIA, Page 8

See NIGERIA, Page 8

Nigeria: Boom to Bust, Trying for a Comeback

By James Brooke New York Times Service LAGOS — Through a car window, a Lagos "go slow" or traffic jam, offers a snapshot of the diminished fortunes of Nigeria, the giant of black Africa.

See NIGERIA, Page 8

U.S. Battleship Heads for Gulf

New Technology Includes an 'Eye-in-the-Sky' Drone Unit

By Joseph Fierchert
International Herald Tribune
ABOARD THE USS IOWA — On this gray battleship steaming toward the Gulf, officers and sailors are confident that new weapons and training will enable them to operate more effectively against Iran than similar U.S. forces did against artillery and guerrilla bases in Lebanon in 1984.

One notable example of the Iowa's new technology is its so-called "eye-in-the-sky," an experimental squadron of small, pilotless reconnaissance aircraft used for artillery spotting.

In 1984, the New Jersey, also a battleship, lacked this asset when it shelled firebases in the Lebanese mountains. "They were just firing at map coordinates," an Iowa gunnery officer said.

This past weekend, Iowa crewmen discussed their primary Gulf mission: preventing Iran from using Silkworm missiles and, if ordered, destroying the missile bases. "With our firepower, our job is to take out missile platforms, and we'll get them if we're told to," said a petty officer, who was more explicit than his superiors about the exact role that the Iowa is intended to play in the Gulf.

U.S. tactics will be altered, according to crew members. Several said that the Iowa would rely heavily on cruise missiles.

The Iowa — one of four battleships of World War II vintage taken out of mothballs and modernized on orders of the Reagan administration — is leading a battle group that will relieve U.S. warships on station in the Gulf since summer.

This is the first rotation of major U.S. warships in the Gulf and the Iowa's first mission there. Iowa crewmembers expect their tour to last at least six months.

In another indication that policing the Gulf may be a draw-out and thus expensive mission, officers on the Iowa have orders to welcome press visitors, apparently as part of a Pentagon effort to build public support.

An American reporter, together with a group of French members of parliament, military officers and journalists, sailed on the Iowa this weekend for several hours as the ship left Marseille and headed for the Suez Canal.

"This ship is no museum piece, it's a formidable strike weapon," said the commander, Captain Larry Sequist. Discussing the con-

roversial program of recommissioning and modernizing the battleships, he argued that the \$400-million refitting of the Iowa "bought firepower cheaply for us."

The core of the Iowa's firepower is made up of nine Mark 7 guns, the largest on any modern warship. These guns fire a shell 16 inches (400 millimeters) in diameter, loaded with 2,700 pounds of high explosive and capable of blasting a crater as big as a football field and 40 feet deep in soil.

Some rounds are designed to break up above a target, scattering thousands of grenade-like bomblets over a wide area. "We can take care of a range of contingencies — massed Iranian suicide boats, or tanks, or helos," Captain Sequist said.

Against a target such as the Iranian bases of Silkworm missiles, the Iowa probably would use the Tomahawk cruise missiles that have been installed on deck, a technician said. These missiles guide themselves to the target using photos taken by aerial reconnaissance.

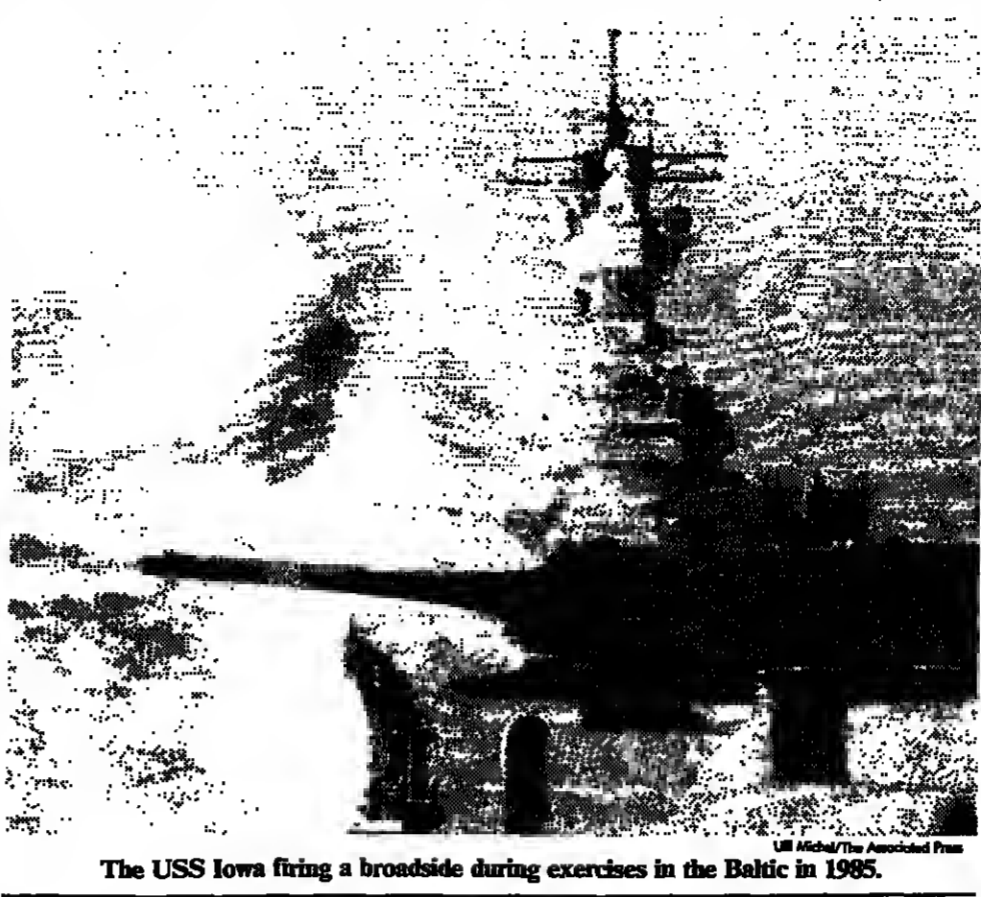
Against Silkworm missiles in flight, the guided-missile cruiser USS Ticonderoga will go into action. It is part of the Iowa's battle group.

Veterans on the Iowa — some dating from Vietnam War, some from the Mediterranean operations in 1984 and a petty officer who served in the Korean War — sounded confident about their equipment and the ability of the crew of 1,200 enlisted men, whose average age is 23.

The Iowa is the first U.S. Navy vessel to experiment with the drones, officially known as Pioneer RPVs (remotely piloted vehicles). Developed by the Israelis, who have used them effectively against Syrian positions in Lebanon, the drones can hover over a target 20 miles away and transmit pictures of it, even at night. With a wingspan of only 16 feet, they are difficult to shoot down.

The Iowa will use them to locate Iranian warships and Silkworm missile bases. Most of Iran's Silkworms are said to be located in hills commanding the Strait of Hormuz, the 20-mile-wide mouth of the Gulf. A Silkworm missile, with its 1,100-pound warhead, would take less than three minutes to reach the main channel, close to Oman's coastline.

The Iowa's ultimate self-defense against missile attacks is its close-in weapons system — electronically guided Gatling guns, whose multiple barrels spew out a "wall" of heavy bullets made of spent uranium. The USS Stark, hit by an Iraqi-launched Exocet missile earlier this year, had a similar system but failed to turn it on.



The USS Iowa firing a broadside during exercises in the Baltic in 1985.

WORLD BRIEFS

Sydney Communications Still Chaotic

SYDNEY (UPI) — Central Sydney's communications network remained in chaos Monday as technicians worked to restore more than 35,000 lines cut when a saboteur hacked through vital underground cables.

A Telecom Australia spokesman said Monday that the company believed the saboteur, possibly a disgruntled former employee who worked alone, cut through 24 main cables in 10 locations under the city's business district Friday night. The cables carried lines for computers, telephones, telexes, facsimiles, automatic bank teller machines, department store cash registers and off-track betting wires. The spokesman said that "communications are still chaotic."

A list of suspects, mainly covering those dismissed from Telecom over the past decade, has been pieced together and narrowed down by investigators, the spokesman said. The company is offering a reward of 50,000 Australian dollars (\$34,400) for information leading to the conviction of those responsible.

No China Trip Planned, Vatican Says

VATICAN CITY (Reuters) — The Vatican said Monday that Pope John Paul II was not planning a visit to China after reports that he would make such a trip to heal the rift between the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Church in China.

A Vatican spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls, said no trip was planned in 1989 and added that "with the information we have at present, there is not even the chance of such a trip."

The Reverend Louis Ha, director of the Catholic Social Communications agency, which handles church publications in Hong Kong, said earlier that a third country was negotiating with China for a papal visit. Mr. Navarro-Valls said the idea of negotiations by a third country "should be ruled out." The Holy See has never recognized the Chinese Communist government, and its links with the Catholic Church in China were broken by China in 1957.

Swiss Soft Cheese Blamed for Deaths

LAUSANNE, Switzerland (Reuters) — A Swiss soft cheese contaminated with the bacteria listeria may have killed 31 people in western Switzerland since 1983, health officials said Monday.

Officials from the canton of Vaud said that the deaths from listeriosis appeared to have followed consumption of the cheese Vacherin Mont d'Or. The cantons of Vaud and Zurich banned sale of the cheese Friday after a sharp rise in illness and deaths due to listeriosis. The federal government ordered nationwide checks on soft cheeses.

Misadventures of unborn children accounted for about half of the deaths. Pregnant women, the elderly and people with weak immune systems are particularly vulnerable to listeriosis, which is thought to be caused by bacteria in cheese rind.

Prague Police Break Up a Meeting

VIENNA (Reuters) — Czechoslovak policemen broke up a meeting of the Charter 77 human rights organization in a Prague apartment on Sunday after smashing down the door, émigrés said on Monday.

More than a dozen people were detained by policemen after they raided the house of Libuse Silhanova, a group spokesman said. Among those taken were a former foreign minister, Jiri Hájek, as well as Jiri Dienstbier, Rudolf Buzek, Jaroslav Sabata and Václav Benda, the émigrés said. All were released later in the day after being questioned by police.

Charter 77 and other human rights activists in Czechoslovakia are known to hold regular private meetings, with policemen keeping watch but normally not intervening. The police told the gathering Sunday that they were looking for a criminal suspect, the émigrés said.

Karpov Leads in World Chess Match

SEVILLE, Spain (Reuters) — The 16th game of the world chess championship between titleholder Garry Kasparov and challenger Anatoly Karpov was adjourned on Monday after 40 moves.

Mr. Karpov's position, experts said, is virtually a winning one. Mr. Kasparov currently leads the match by 3-7, with three wins, two losses and ten draws.

The game is scheduled to resume Tuesday afternoon.

For the Record

London police said they have established the cause of the fire in the King's Cross Underground station in which 30 people died last Wednesday. They are expected to announce their findings on Tuesday. (Reuters)

Seventy scientists from 12 European countries Monday appealed to the Soviet Union to let 239 Jewish scientists leave the country. The European scientists, meeting in Brussels, also asked the Soviet Union to give up arbitrary decisions and set up rules on the emigration of scientists. (AP)

The World Health Organization has given Zambia \$6 million to fight AIDS. The money would be spent over five years to educate the country's 7 million people about the dangers of the disease. (AP)

Indian police shot and killed two suspected Sikh militants in separate incidents in the Punjab on Sunday. The deaths were the first since seven persons were killed last Tuesday. (AFP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Portugal, China Plan Macao Airport

MACAO (Reuters) — China and Portugal will discuss plans for an international airport in the Portuguese territory of Macao at a meeting in Beijing in December, Governor Carlos Melancia of Macao said Monday.

He said the airport would cost \$450 million and be ready by 1992. Macao will return to Chinese rule in 1999. Visitors to the territory now arrive by sea, mainly from Hong Kong, or by land from China.

Strike Worsens at Rome Airport

ROME (AP) — Sixty more flights were canceled at Rome's Leonardo da Vinci airport Monday as Italy braced for a week of work stoppages, including a general strike on Wednesday.

Alitalia and ATI airlines announced they were canceling 60 flights in and out of Rome on Monday and Tuesday as a result of strikes by 12,000 ground workers and air traffic controllers. Sixty flights were canceled Sunday.

Negotiations on the unions' demands for higher wages were to resume Tuesday. Railroad, factory, bus and subway workers, bank employees and truckers have all vowed to join a four-hour general strike, from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M., on Wednesday.

Philippine Rebels Say They Killed Americans and Warn of New Attacks

Agence France-Press
MANILA — The Communist rebel leadership in the Philippines has taken responsibility for the murder last month of three Americans near a U.S. air base and warned of further attacks on U.S. targets.

Saturnino Ocampo, chief spokesman of the National Democratic Front, made the statement in an interview with the BBC, which gave a transcript to news agencies in Manila on Monday.

It was the first time the National Democratic Front, which includes the New People's Army, officially took responsibility for the killings on Oct. 28 of two U.S. airmen and a retired serviceman near Clark Air Base, north of Manila.

Mr. Ocampo said the Clark killings were part of an "important policy" adopted in June by the guerrilla leadership after "increasingly blatant intervention" by the U.S. government in anti-guerrilla operations.

He said the rebels had been hampered by increased aerial bombings and the formation of anti-Communist vigilante groups in the countryside backed by President Corazon C. Aquino's government.

But he warned that "this is a concept that can only spell more

bloodshed, more destruction and more intense polarization of Philippine society" and predicted that "in the long run I believe this total war will fail."

"Henceforth," he said, "all U.S. military and civilian officials and personnel involved in the implementation of the total war program are to be targets for attack" by the New People's Army.

"The attacks on the three American servicemen at Clark Air Base were a response to this policy," he said.

The United States recently speeded arms deliveries to Manila as part of its \$180 million annual rent for two huge bases near Manila. Apart from Clark, the United States also maintains Subic Naval Base, a major ship repair and maintenance installation.

Sources close to the New People's Army said last week that the local guerrilla unit near Clark had committed "an error" by hitting ordinary U.S. servicemen at random, instead of ranking officers involved in aiding Manila.

They said this was the reason the New People's Army did not immediately take responsibility for the killings.

Mr. Ocampo, a former journalist, was named in a military document that was declassified over the weekend as one of the 25 members of the central committee of the banned Communist Party of the Philippines, which controls the National Democratic Front.

The BBC correspondent who supplied the Ocampo remarks said the interview was not held in person for security reasons. Questions were sent in writing, and Mr. Ocampo supplied a taped answer to each question.

Mr. Ocampo said that it was not National Democratic Front policy "to attack foreign citizens per se" and that Americans need not fear attack "as long as they are not involved in the interventionist policy of the Reagan administration."

Mr. Ocampo said the National

Democratic Front, whose international office is in Utrecht in the Netherlands, had support groups in 25 countries, mostly in Western Europe, and had links with "liberation movements" across the Third World.

He said the front "maintains relations" with the Pacific Socialist Party in the Netherlands and the ruling Pan Hellenic Socialist Party in Greece.

DC-9 Crash: Less Risk in Back Rows?

The Associated Press
DENVER — The 20 passengers in the last four rows of a Continental Airlines jet were among the 54 survivors after the DC-9 crashed on takeoff during a snowstorm Nov. 15, according to a newspaper survey. But U.S. officials reject the theory that the safest seats in a plane are in the rear.

"All I know is that the middle took it the worst," said Robert Bezek, an investigator for the National Transportation Safety Board. A spokesman for the Federal Aviation Administration said: "It differs from accident to accident. It all depends how the plane hits. It is a disservice to tell people the chances of surviving in the back are better than anywhere else."

A study by the Rocky Mountain News determined where 60 of the 82 passengers and crew members were seated.

The safety board is studying several factors, including seating, to explain why 28 persons died and 54 others escaped with minor cuts and bruises, Mr. Bezek said.

Continental has refused to release seating information, saying passengers often switch seats.

John Galipant, founder of the Aviation Safety Institute, said that because of the nature of air accidents and quick-spreading flames, "I would rather be near an exit on the aisle than worry about whether I sit in the front, middle or back."

The Federal Aviation Administration requires airlines to store the voice and data recorders as far back in the plane as possible, because, as a spokesman said, "There is more impact and crumpling in the front of the airplane."

Police in Ireland Start Large-Scale Search for Arms

Reuters
DUBLIN — About 7,000 Irish police and troops began on Monday the biggest search ever carried out in the Irish Republic for IRA arms caches.

The operation, announced by Justice Minister Gerry Collins, began at dawn after police received intelligence reports that up to four ships carrying smuggled arms may have got through to the outlawed Irish Republican Army in 1985 and 1986.

Last month, French customs officers seized up to 150 tons of arms from the coaster Eksund that they believe were destined for Northern Ireland.

Mr. Collins said the four suspected shipments were believed to contain more arms and ammunition than the total Eksund cargo. The Eksund's five-man Irish crew has been charged in Paris.

Duarte Tells Returning Rebel Chiefs To Break Links With Military Wing

By James LeMoyné
New York Times Service
SAN SALVADOR — President José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador has strongly criticized returning rebel civilian leaders and demanded that they break their links with the military wing of the guerrilla front.

"They have to define themselves," Mr. Duarte said Sunday. "Either they are for the democratic process or for violence and guerrilla war."

He made his statement in the midst of rapid political developments in El Salvador, spurred by the arrival on Saturday of Rubén Zamora, a leading rebel civilian official who came home after seven years in exile.

Another senior rebel civilian official, Guillermo Ungo, was expected to arrive on Monday.

The two lead the civilian wing of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, a guerrilla movement that is loosely allied to the far stronger rebel military Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. They are returning to test the terms of a new regional peace treaty calling for efforts at national reconciliation.

In a step that appeared timed to steal the political limelight from the returning rebels, Mr. Duarte announced that the government had begun to prosecute a case that has been treated as a major test of its ability to act against persistent human rights violations. This is the killing in 1980 of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

Mr. Zamora said on Saturday that he had returned home to "fight to construct democracy." He charged that the government had offered the Salvadoran people only an intolerable life of war, poverty, sickness, human rights abuses and total dependence on the United States.

He emphasized three political goals that he said he would pursue: Social justice, democracy and national independence — a "total reference to his criticism of U.S. influ-

Contra Cease-Fire Offer

A contra rebel spokeswoman said on Monday that two leaders of the U.S.-backed force will attempt to fly to Managua Tuesday to present a cease-fire proposal to Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo. United Press International reported from Managua.

Marissa de Léal, the spokeswoman, in a telephone interview from San José, Costa Rica, named the two as Alfonso Robelo and Azucena Ferrer, two of the six contra civilian leaders.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the State Department on Monday welcomed Nicaragua's decision to release 985 political prisoners but said the Sandinista government still held about 8,500 more. A spokeswoman said that the Sandinista government was still a long way from compliance with the Central American peace agreement.

Iran Naval Guns Cause Fires On 2 Freighters at Gulf Entry

The Associated Press
MANAMA, Bahrain — The Iranian Navy fired Monday on two freighters in the Strait of Hormuz. The vessels, en route to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, were set ablaze and three crewmen were injured, salvage executives reported.

The 16,859-ton container vessel Uni-Master, which flies the Panamanian flag, was on its way to Saudi Arabia. The 8,850-ton Fundules, a freighter operating under

the Romanian flag, was headed for Kuwait.

Fires raged aboard both vessels after the morning attack. Firefighting tugs rushed from the United Arab Emirates and Oman and helped extinguish the blaze aboard the Uni-Master, the sources said.

But the Fundules still was burning several hours later. Its crew abandoned ship after its master, second officer and cook were injured, said the salvage executives.

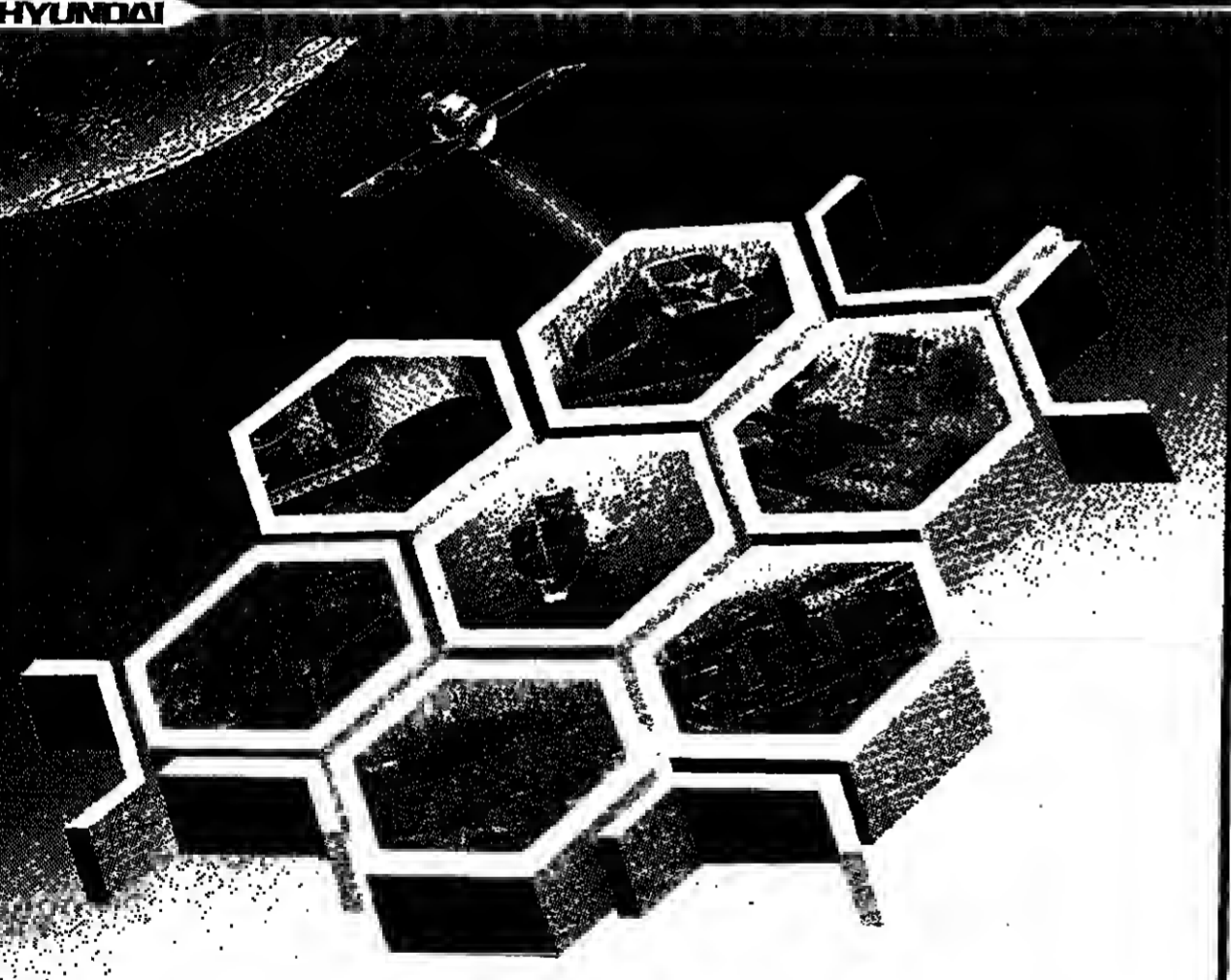
The injured were flown by helicopter to the United Arab Emirates. The captain and the officer were reported to be in critical condition.

At least one Iranian warship, probably a frigate, was involved in the attack, the salvage executives said.

The Iranian Navy often intercepts vessels sailing through the strait, the only gateway to the Gulf, to check if their cargo includes any war matériel bound for Iraq.

Iran retaliates for Iraqi strikes in the Gulf on a ship-for-ship basis. In the past two weeks, Iraq has claimed to have struck more than 20 vessels off Iran. Ten of these attacks have been confirmed by shipping sources.

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Nixon's Archenemies Join All the President's Men in a Rare Search for His Legacy

By E.J. Dionne Jr.
New York Times Service

HEMPSTEAD, New York — The issue under debate here for three days was one of the central political questions of the age: What was the true meaning of Richard Nixon's presidency and how will he be judged before the bar of history? Thanks to Hofstra University, which organized the retrospective on the Nixon presidency this weekend, historians and participants in the tumultuous events of the Nixon era could debate their meaning and the life of a man who was a dominant figure in political life for three decades.

And it became clear almost immediately that while tempers have cooled in the 13 years since Mr. Nixon resigned the presidency over the Watergate scandals, he remains singular among American political figures in his ability to inspire passionate opposition and equally fervent devotion.

At times, the three days that ended Saturday seemed more like a reunion than an academic exercise. There were H.R. Haldeman, Mr. Nixon's chief of staff, joining hands again with John D. Ehrlichman, his domestic policy counselor. Maurice Stans greeted Jeb Stuart Magruder for the first time in years, and Egil (Bud) Krogh, the head of the White House "plumbers," discussed affably about what he and his crew had in mind with those wiretaps and break-ins.

And there were occasions when the Nixon era seemed thoroughly a thing of the past as the lions and the lambs freely lay down together. Charles W. Colson, one of Mr. Nixon's top political lieutenants and tough guys who became a born-again Christian while serving a Watergate-related prison term, shook hands warmly with Tom Hayden, one of the Nixon administration's most prominent tormentors.

Mr. Hayden, a Democrat and a California assemblyman, said there was "a mutual recognition that



'Richard Nixon cannot be separated from Watergate, however valiant his own efforts, those of his friends and of media trend-setters.'

— Stanley I. Kutler, a professor at the University of Wisconsin

we're survivors, and that we were caught up in insanity." But the concord was deceiving, for not far below the surface there raged a battle over whether Mr. Nixon had been judged too harshly, whether his foreign policy achievements had been trivialized because of Watergate.

This view was forcefully advanced by the president's men and supported by revisionist scholars who contended that Mr. Nixon's tenure looks far better now than it

did on that day in August 1974 when he left office in disgrace. The view was summarized by Henry A. Kissinger, Mr. Nixon's secretary of state, who said he told the president, "History will treat you more kindly than your contemporaries." Reflecting the revisionist tone, Mr. Kissinger added, "This conference is a sign that this process is well under way."

But Mr. Nixon's critics were having none of it. "Richard Nixon is struggling for the soul of history

and for the souls of historians," Stanley I. Kutler, professor of American institutions at the University of Wisconsin, declared. "Historians ought to worry about theirs."

In a passionate denunciation of Nixon revisionism, Professor Kutler argued the central brief of the Nixon critics, that "Richard Nixon cannot be separated from Watergate, however valiant his own efforts, those of his friends and of media trend-setters."

As is everything involving Richard Nixon, the very act of holding the conference was controversial. Conference organizers finally satisfied Mr. Nixon's critics on the Hofstra campus and his friends on the outside that they were seeking neither to damn the former president nor to praise him.

Mr. Nixon himself was invited, but declined to come, and some of his reasons suggested just how bitter the feelings from his time in office remain. An aide to Mr. Nixon wrote that the former president did not want to be on the same program with Mr. Hayden, Dave Dellinger, another leading anti-war figure, and Frances Fitzgerald, a writer who was prominent in her opposition to Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policies.

Still, Mr. Nixon's defenders did quite well in his absence. Two of his strongest defenders were Han Xu, the Chinese ambassador to the United States, and Alexander M. Belogorov, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations.

The Chinese ambassador said his countrymen would "never forget President Nixon" for his policies toward Beijing. He used a proverb to explain: "When you drink water from the well, don't forget who dug it."

In a statement sent to the conference, Mr. Belogorov said the Nixon era was "the most fruitful and productive in the 40 postwar years" for U.S.-Soviet relations. In his address, Mr. Kissinger sought to lay the basis for a foreign policy that avoided the "endless oscillation between optimism and despair" that characterized America's attitude toward engagement in world affairs.

to his conservative reputation, Mr. Nixon presided over a substantial expansion of the welfare state. Carl Lieberman, a professor of political science at the University of Akron, said Mr. Nixon approved of indexing Social Security payments — a boon to the elderly.

Joan Hoff-Wilson, a professor of history from Indiana University, said the Nixon years marked the first time in the postwar era that domestic spending exceeded military spending.

And several scholars called attention to Mr. Nixon's family assistance plan, which would have provided a guaranteed annual income for all Americans, had it passed Congress. Barry D. Ruccio, a historian at the University of Illinois, concluded that Mr. Nixon was "a paradoxical figure who despised liberals while endorsing liberal objectives" and who showed that "the party of conservatism could also be the party of innovation."

Mr. Ehrlichman pointedly contrasted Mr. Nixon's domestic activism with President Reagan's policies, which he characterized as "a sense of almost governmental indifference to the problems of needy Americans."

Stephen E. Ambrose, a professor of history at the University of New Orleans, said that the revisionist attitude toward Mr. Nixon — as toward any president — was inevitable, and that, given his low standing at the end of his administration, he had nowhere to go but up.

In the view of many at the conference, it was not, in part because of Mr. Nixon's personality, which was described at least two dozen times as "complex."

"Richard Nixon was gripped by a paranoid view of the world that was divided into two camps, good and evil," Mr. Hayden said. But he added that Mr. Nixon's opponents, he among them, developed a "paranoid style of our own."

Alan F. Westin, a professor of political science at Columbia, said the result was that the Nixon administration seemed to operate under a theory of "totalitarian democracy." Professor Ambrose, expressing the view of many Nixon critics, said his undoing was his failure to bring an early end to the Vietnam War. "It was the continuation of the Vietnam War which prepared the ground and watered the seed of Watergate," he said.

The conference did not seek to reach any conclusions, although by the end it was clear that the judges of history would be as divided as were Mr. Nixon's contemporaries.



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File Describes Brutality By a Captured Ex-Nazi

By Ralph Blumenthal
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — An elderly Austrian arrested this month on a remote ranch in Argentina has emerged as one of the most brutal commandants of the Nazi labor camps, according to Austrian police files.

The suspect, Josef Schwammberger, 75, faces extradition to West Germany. He is accused of shooting and torturing hundreds of Jews and of stealing their valuables. In questioning in 1945 before he escaped detention, Mr. Schwammberger admitted that he had shot about 35 Jews, according to the Austrian police files. The files were obtained by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and made available to The New York Times.

The files show he also admitted that sacks of gold and diamond jewelry found in his possession had come from Jewish slave laborers. Mr. Schwammberger maintained at the time that he had been ordered to shoot the Jews for trying to flee his camp, that he had given the valuables voluntarily and that he had found other riches buried under a cellar.

But statements made by camp survivors in 1946 painted a picture of Mr. Schwammberger as the brutal commandant of two forced-labor camps in Nazi-occupied eastern Poland in 1943 and 1944. Some of the statements have been sent to Argentina for the extradition proceedings under a 1973 West German arrest warrant.

Witnesses said they saw Mr. Schwammberger execute and torture hundreds of Jews, set his dog on prisoners, and use pliers to tear gold teeth out of prisoners as he accumulated a fortune. Mr. Schwammberger, short, balding and heavyset but seemingly robust, was moved from a cell to a prison infirmary in La Plata, Argentina, last week because of bad health, according to a court hearing last Monday.

Mr. Schwammberger showed identification papers in his own name and said that he had never hidden under his own name for a petrochemical company in the town of Lisandro Olmos, near La Plata. He lived in a modest house in the nearby community of Los Hornos before reportedly moving in with a son nearer to Buenos Aires and then moving into the infirmary. He was captured on Nov. 13 on a ranch near Córdoba, in the interior, by the police and a federal judge, possibly as the result of a tip. The West German government, which prosecutes war crimes committed under the Nazis, recently doubled its reward for information leading to his capture, to more than \$300,000.

The postwar documents from Austrian police files and Mr. Schwammberger's file from the Schutzstaffel elite guard, or SS, in West German archives were collected over the years by the Anti-Defamation League. Interest in them grew after Mr. Schwammberger's capture, and copies were made available last week by Elliot Welles, director of the league's Nazi war criminals task force. The police records show that Mr. Schwammberger, carrying false papers in the name of an army sergeant, was initially arrested on a tip in Innsbruck, Austria, in the French occupation zone on July 19, 1945. He escaped with two other suspected war criminals from the Oradour detention camp, near Schwaz, during the night of Jan. 2, 1948. It is not clear how he made his way to Argentina.

An Austrian, he joined the Nazi party in 1933 and became a member of the SS four years later. In 1943 and 1944, he admitted, he operated SS labor camps at Przemysl, in Poland, near the Soviet Union, where Jews were forced to clean and repair German Army uniforms; and at Mieloc, near to Krakow, where the Germans oper-

Pardons in the Iran-Contra Affair? A Rumor Has Washington Buzzing

By Philip Shenon
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — For months, there have been rumblings that President Ronald Reagan might pardon Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter and Robert C. McFarlane, the main participants in the Iran-contra affair.

Now there is a hot, widely discussed, wholly unconfirmed rumor that President Reagan will issue the pardons on Thursday, citing the Thanksgiving Day holiday as a time for forgiveness and healing. The rumor seems to be coming chiefly from Capitol Hill.

"We're hearing it," a U.S. law-enforcement official said of the reports. "I sure can't prove it. Only Ronald Reagan knows if it's true. But it does make sense." (The White House on Monday brushed the speculation about pardons as "a media phenomenon.") The Associated Press reported, "The White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, repeated a prediction of last week that the White House would not generate any 'significant news' over the Thanksgiving holiday, as Mr. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, vacation at their ranch in California."

Last week, administration officials confirmed that the president had received and read a letter three months ago from William F. Clark, the former national security adviser, urging pardons for Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter. Neither of them nor Mr. McFarlane has been charged with a crime. Mr. Clark, a longtime friend of Mr. Reagan, said the two officers deserved pardons because their efforts in the Iran-contra affair were undertaken at "considerable personal risk" and "without consideration for personal gain."

Last month, Mr. Reagan said in an interview that he did not believe that Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter had broken any law. If Mr. Reagan wants to issue pardons, the timing might be perfect. Pardons are expected to produce a barrage of criticism of the president, especially from Democrats at Capitol Hill. But just 11 days after Thanksgiving Day, Mr. Reagan is to begin his summit meeting with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, and they are expected to sign an arms-control pact. According to the logic



Josef Schwammberger, in undated photo supplied by Simon Wiesenthal Center.

ated an aircraft factory with forced Jewish labor. Jews sometimes fled Przemysl but most were quickly recaptured and ordered shot. Mr. Schwammberger said in a statement that appeared to bear his signature, "There were differences of opinion regarding the shootings," the statement continued, "for which reason any command issued the order that all Jews who fled from my camp had to be personally shot by me."

South Africa Offer Given to Angola

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — South Africa's chief delegate said Monday that his government would withdraw its troops from Angola by Dec. 9 if Cuban troops and other foreign forces also pulled out. The delegate, Michael Manley, made the offer at a Security Council meeting called by Angola to consider fighting between South African and Cuban-led Angolan forces last week. Pretoria acknowledged for the first time this month that its troops were fighting in Angola alongside rebels.

Angola has consistently rejected South African demands that a South African pullout be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

Mir Space Station Resupplied

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — An unmanned Soviet cargo spacecraft docked on Monday at the Mir orbiting space station with supplies and mail for the two-man crew aboard.

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BRIEFS

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 y's communications services were disrupted through work to restore service to the damaged lines.

ned, Vatican Says
 Vatican said Monday that the Holy See and the Chinese government have agreed to resume negotiations for a permanent agreement on the Holy See and the Chinese government.

lamed for Deaths
 A Swiss socialist newspaper said Monday that it had killed 31 people in a fire in the Swiss town of Zug.

Up a Meeting
 Czech police broke up a meeting of activists in Prague on Monday.

orld Chess Match
 The 16th game of the world chess match between Garry Kasparov and Anatoly Karpov is scheduled to be played on Tuesday.

UPDATE

lan Macao Airport
 Portugal will discuss plans for the territory of Macao at a meeting in Madrid on Monday.

Rome Airport
 10 were arrested at Rome's Linate airport for a week of work stoppages.

Rebel Chief Military Wing
 A rebel chief in the Philippines said Monday that he had formed a military wing for his group.

Contra Cease-Fire Offer
 A Contra cease-fire offer was made by the US-backed forces and the Sandinista government.

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In Paris and Provinces, France's Mayors Reign Like Omnipotent Dukes

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

LA ROCHELLE, France — More than three centuries ago, La Rochelle's turreted city hall was a genuine fortress besieged by an army led by Cardinal Richelieu, the stern incarnation of the centralizing French state.

Mayor Michel Crépeau today likes to show visitors the crease in a marble table top where in 1628 Admiral Jean Guiton, accepting the post of mayor, slammed his sword and demanded that no one surrender.

After a siege that killed 23,000 of its 28,000 inhabitants, Protestant La Rochelle capitulated. Yet the plucky Admiral Guiton has become a useful role model as Mr. Crépeau, like his colleagues in France's 36,449 other communes, tests the limits of recent measures to decentralize Western Europe's most centralized nation.

In big cities and obscure villages, France's mayors already enjoyed enormous powers before Socialist legislation four years ago enhanced them, correspondingly weakening the power of Paris-appointed administrators known as prefects. Now, French mayors have entered their golden age.

"In France," mused Mr. Crépeau, a diminutive politician who has reigned over this handsome Atlantic port city for 16 years, "the president of the republic is a bit the heir of the Roman emperors and the centralizing French monarchs, while the mayor — the mayor is the heir of the wild-haired tribal chiefs of the Gauls."

"The mayor is the local president of the republic, the minister of finance and the head of the local administration. He is the protector, the head of the family, the sorcerer. People believe he can do anything. The elections in France where people vote the most are for their mayors."

Rooted in their municipalities, many French mayors use them as trampolines to high national office and as safe havens when national political tides turn against them. Mr. Crépeau, who stood for the presidency for the small Left Radical Party in 1981, is a case in point.

He won only 2.2 percent of the popular vote, but opportunely threw his support to the Socialist candidate, François Mitterrand, in the second round of balloting. As a reward, Mr. Crépeau was given

three major cabinet posts in successive Socialist governments between 1981 and 1986 — environment, commerce, and justice.

Yet, like other politicians in similar situations, Mr. Crépeau did not cease to be mayor during five years he was a minister in Paris; every weekend he shuttled to his bastion in La Rochelle to keep an eye on the city's affairs and a finger on the popular pulse. When the right swept to power in national legislative elections in 1986, Mr. Crépeau emptied his office at the Justice Ministry and repaired to La Rochelle.

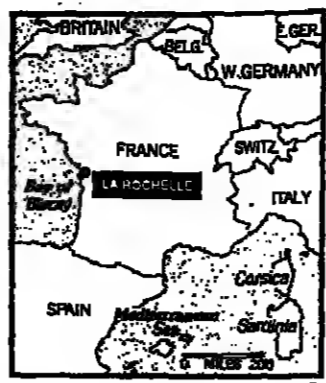
He did not abandon Paris altogether. Mr. Crépeau is also a member of the National Assembly, a job that, he says, brings him much less fun and influence than being mayor of La Rochelle but one that strengthens his hand in representing his city in Paris.

The importance of being a mayor in France is underlined by a simple statistic: in the 491-member National Assembly, 258 deputies are simultaneously mayors or, as they have come to be known, "deputy-mayors." Nationally, they are much better known as mayors than as deputies.

Jacques Chaban-Delmas, now speaker of the National Assembly, has been mayor of Bordeaux since 1947; duties at city hall have not prevented him from also being prime minister and defense minister in the course of a long career.

Mr. Mitterrand held the somewhat less demanding job of mayor of the Burgundy town of Chateau-Chinon, population 2,600, for 22 years before being elected president in 1981.

"It's fascinating, because you're running a business," said François Fillon, a 33-year-old Gaullist deputy who became the mayor of Sables-sur-Sarthe southwest of Paris four years ago. "I have 150 people working for me. The deputy is very dis-



tant, but the mayor is a man of the land — the mayor is real."

Jacques Chirac has discovered the reality of power in a decade as mayor of Paris — a position that permitted him to keep himself in the headlines even after the Socialists won presidential and parliamentary elections in 1981. Since becoming prime minister last year, Mr. Chirac has remained mayor of the premier city of France, commanding a corps of 40,000 civil servants.

As Mr. Crépeau discovered, though, too many outside jobs can lead to a neglect of the work at city hall. During his tenure in Paris, unemployment climbed alarmingly in La Rochelle, a city of 78,000, largely because of the closing of its shipyard. Many say Mr. Crépeau has turned with redoubled zeal to the city's problems, encouraging the development of a marine research institute and lobbying for the extension of a fast-train line to La Rochelle.

But some say Mr. Crépeau still hankers after another ministerial post in Paris should the Socialists take over again. They recall that even the defiant Admiral Guiton survived the siege of La Rochelle and went on to serve the French monarchy as a captain of the fleet; when he died, a painting of Louis XIII was found on his bedroom wall.

U.S. and Laotians Agree to Step Up Search for MIAs

New York Times Service

VIENTIANE, Laos — The United States and Laos have announced that Washington will begin considering the "humanitarian problems" of this isolated country as Laotians step up the search for the 555 Americans missing there since the Vietnam War.

The agreement, which follows several official meetings, is similar to one concluded this summer between the United States and Vietnam. U.S. experts on the missing have already visited Hanoi for consultation.

At the same time, the United States is about to deliver a shipment of rice to Laos, where this year's crop, now being harvested, has been severely affected by drought.

Living Abroad

A New Health Plan for Expatriates

By Sherry Buchanan
International Herald Tribune

Medicare, the U.S. government medical insurance for retired people, does not cover Americans living abroad. And depending on their age, it is sometimes difficult to get private international health insurance.

To help Americans who do not have health insurance through an employer, as well as people who retired abroad, the Association of Americans Resident Overseas, a Paris-based organization, has introduced a group medical insurance plan open to members and their dependents living in Europe.

The plan covers hospitalization and outpatient costs, as well as costs for returning home for emergency health care if the subscriber is traveling. It has no age limit for joining and guarantees that subscribers will be covered for the rest of their lives.

"The main problem was that most existing plans drop people over 65, or drop them automatically," said Leo Packer, a retired American scientist living in Paris.

Three years ago, Mr. Packer was asked by the Association of Americans Resident Overseas to chair a Medical Insurance Committee to respond to the requests and suggestions of members who had found it difficult or impossible to get adequate medical insurance in Europe.

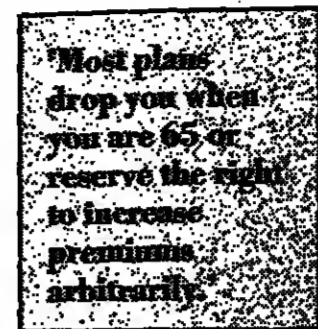
"Some plans don't let you join as an individual if you are over 50, others if you are over 60," he said. "Most drop you when you are 65 or reserve the right to increase premiums arbitrarily after you reach a certain age."

For example, a retired U.S. military officer, who lives in the south of France and who is covered by DKV, a German company that specializes in medical insurance, saw his premiums increase by 50 percent in the last year. He is now paying 14,000

francs (\$2,460) a year for health insurance.

Just when subscribers need health insurance most, it gets more expensive and more uncertain, especially if the individual isn't protected by a group plan.

"As an individual you have no leverage," said Mr. Packer. "The insurance companies can charge what they like or can send you a



letter saying oow that you are old and sick we don't want you anymore. That's why it is much more advantageous to have a group plan."

There are other health insurance plans for expatriates but they have age limits for joining. They include the Exeter Hospital Aid Society, in Exeter, England; international health coverage from American International Group Inc. of New York; and the American Express International Health Plan, available to American Express cardholders who pay in dollars or pounds through the office in Essex, England.

Many international plans limit or exclude coverage in the United States and Canada because medical costs there are much higher than in other countries. Yet, many Americans say they would like to have the option of going home if they ever become seriously ill.

American Express's international plan, for instance, limits coverage to \$7,500 a year for Americans temporarily back in the United States on business or holiday. The policy, which costs \$475 a year, only covers subscribers for three months in their home country.

Life of America Insurance in Paris offers a policy that covers hospitalization anywhere in the world up to \$100 a day. However, "that's nothing if you are getting treatment in a hospital in the United States," said Ann Richardson, an executive with Life of America.

She estimates that the average cost for room, board and treatment in an American hospital is \$1,000 a day. The policy costs \$460 for women under 34 and \$360 for men under 34. It costs \$780 for women between 35 and 63 and \$702 for men in that age group, and drops people after that.

The new plan from the Association of Americans Resident Overseas has no annual ceiling for coverage in the United States or anywhere else in the world and no time limit on coverage. It does require that subscribers remain residents of Europe to qualify for coverage.

The cost of the association's plan increases with age and varies according to the person's country of residence. The cost for an American living in France who is over 65, for example, is 6,930 francs. For Americans living in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland or Great Britain who are over 65, the cost is 8,612 francs.

Besides hospitalization and outpatient medical treatment, the plan covers 50 percent of prescription drug costs, up to 60,000 francs a year for psychiatric treatment and offers pregnancy and maternity coverage.

Information about the plan can be obtained by writing CO-FAST, 23 rue Ballu, 75009 Paris.

UNESCO Board Elects Brazilian

The Associated Press

PARIS — A Brazilian nuclear physicist, José Israel Vargas, was elected Monday to a two-year term as head of the 50-nation executive board of UNESCO.

Mr. Vargas, 59, received 38 votes to 10 for Walter Gehlhoff of West Germany and one for the former Australian prime minister, Gough Whitlam. Mr. Vargas succeeds Ivo Margan of Yugoslavia.

He said he would work to reform the agency, compress its programs, seek economies, try to bring back countries that had left the agency and encourage new nations to join.

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After 2 Days, India Ends Cease-Fire in Sri Lanka

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — India ended its cease-fire in Sri Lanka on Monday, two days after it began, charging that Tamil guerrilla separatists had failed to "respond positively" to the gesture.

In announcing the end of the cease-fire, an Indian spokesman said the main guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, "is now insisting on a number of

South Africa Cites Unrest in Black Troops

By John D. Barterby
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Defense Force acknowledged that 47 members of a black battalion with previous service in Angola were discharged from the force because they had been a mutiny.

The acknowledgment on Sunday followed newspaper reports that more than 400 black soldiers had mutinied, refusing to fight on the side of the rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, which is trying to overthrow the Soviet-backed Angolan regime.

Commandant G.R.C. Bester, spokesman for the South-West African Territorial Force, said the 47 black soldiers had failed to meet military standards over a long period and that their discharge was not connected to South African operations in southern Angola.

The South-West African Territorial Force is a semi-autonomous section of the South African Defense Force made up largely of troops from the South-African controlled territory, also known as Namibia.

South Africa acknowledged for the first time Nov. 9 that its troops had assisted UNITA forces in repelling an attack by Angolan troops assisted by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers.

The Defense Force also acknowledged Sunday that 27 members of another all-black battalion sent into Angola had protested about "the way in which they were being utilized" but said the problems had been ironed out.

Reports of a mutiny by black soldiers were first made by leaders of the South-West African People's Organization, which has been fighting for 21 years to end South African rule in South-West Africa.

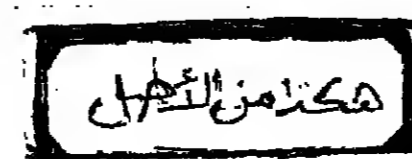
Two weeks later, The Namibian in Windhoek and The Weekly Mail in Johannesburg, had reported that more than 400 members of 101 Battalion had "gone on strike."



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Repatriates

... plan, for instance, to average to \$7,500 a year for Americans temporarily living in the United States on business for 15 a year, only covers the costs for three months in the home country.

Life of America Insurance Co. offers a policy that covers hospitalization anywhere in the world up to \$100 a day. However, "that's nothing if you are getting treatment in a hospital in the United States," said Ann Robinson, an executive with Life of America.

She estimates that the average cost for room, board and treatment in an American hospital is \$1,000 a day.

The policy costs \$400 for men under 34 and \$500 for men under 34. It costs \$700 for men between 35 and 45 and \$1,000 for men in that age group. The new plan from the Association of American Residents Overseas has no annual ceiling on coverage in the United States or anywhere else in the world and no time limit on coverage. It does require that subscribers be U.S. residents of Europe to qualify for coverage.

The cost of the association plan increases with age and is according to the person's country of residence. The cost for an American living in France who is over 65, for example, is 950 francs. For Americans living in Italy, West Germany, Switzerland or Great Britain who are over 65, the cost is 800 francs.

Besides hospitalization and outpatient medical treatment, the plan covers 50 percent of prescription drug costs, up to 4,000 francs a year for psychiatric treatment and offers pregnancy and maternity coverage.

Information about the plan can be obtained by writing to IHT, 23 rue Balin, 75009 Paris.

South Africa Cites Unrest in Black Troops

By John D. Battersby
 JOHANNESBURG — South African Defense Force spokesman said that 47 members of a black battalion with previous experience in Angola were discharged last month but denied that they had been a mutiny.

The discharge of the 47 members followed a newspaper report that more than 400 black soldiers mutinied, refusing to fight on the side of the rebels of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola or UNITA and trying to overthrow the Sep- backed Angolan regime.

Commandant G.R.C. Bess, spokesman for the South-West African Territorial Force, said that the 47 black soldiers had failed to meet military standards over a period and that their discharge was connected to South African operations in southern Angola.

The South-West African Territorial Force is a semi-annual section of the South African Defense Force made up largely of troops from the South-West African territory, also known as Namibia.

South Africa acknowledged the first time Nov. 9 that it has assisted UNITA forces in pushing an attack in Angola. Troops assisted by Cuban and Soviet advisers.

The Defense Force also acknowledged Sunday that 27 members of another all-black battalion in Angola had mutinied. The spokesman said the mutiny was in which the soldiers were "killed" but said the mutiny had been crushed.

Reports of a mutiny in the territory were first made by the South-West African Territorial Force, which has been fighting for 22 years to end the African rule in South-West Africa.

Two weeks ago, The Namibian, Windhoek and The World, Johannesburg, had reported a mutiny of 40 members of the Territorial Force.

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Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Help Eastern Europe

For decades, East Europeans who wanted reforms found the Soviet Union standing in the way. Now Moscow takes the lead and backs, while Eastern Europe's leaders balk. Their economies are in crisis, their people dispirited. Most leaders are old or ailing, and they do not see the future looking uncertain and reform risky. The West typically needs Eastern Europe only in crisis. This is a good time to break that pattern with a thoughtful, unified approach to nudge inevitable changes in desirable directions.

Mikhail Gorbachev is trying to shape those changes along the lines of his own policies in the Soviet Union. He prods his East European cohorts toward economic reforms and reassures them of continued support. Moscow needs to revitalize these neighboring economies to help its own, especially as markets for Soviet goods.

But economic crises require political change — which is risky in the Soviet Union and riskier still for governments lacking nationalist legitimacy. Orthodox East European parties have responded to Mr. Gorbachev's call for reform with caution and "a nationalistic approach to socialism." This translates differently in each country.

Poland, led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is relatively young at 64, was forced to reform early. It has a strong church, dissident and labor groups and an underground press. Its economic difficulties are worse than Moscow's. Reform proposals require drastic price increases. To win support, General Jaruzelski proposes a referendum on Nov. 29. Opponents call for a boycott, saying that the reforms stop short of democratization.

Hungary, once socialism's success story, has the bloc's highest per capita foreign debt. Janos Kadar, 75, who led his country away from centralized planning, seems unable to effect further reforms. With living standards down and social tensions up, the Communist Party is in disarray.

Bulgaria has launched a reform program of its own, but that is more tinkering than real change in central management. Czechoslovakia adamantly resisted reforms, for good reason. Gustav Husak, 74, came to power in the wake of the Soviet invasion that crushed the Czechoslovak reforms of 1968. But a sagging economy has forced him finally to propose broad changes, with details to come soon.

East Germany has been the most prosperous of the Soviet satellites. Its leader, Erich Honecker, 75, notes this when he rejects Moscow's model. His idea of reform is to tighten central planning. He has done so with relative success, with help from West Germany's favorable trade practices. Now there is pressure to improve technology so as to maintain exports to the West and satisfy Soviet needs.

Romania is virulently anti-reformist. Nicolae Ceausescu, 69 and ailing, answers economic distress with more repression and austerity. Romanians recently took to the streets in violent protest. They inquire plaintively about Soviet reforms. But when Mr. Gorbachev came to explain them, Mr. Ceausescu could only stare at him with a different expression than his rice smile.

The power structure in most of these countries cannot last much longer. Its stability, resting heavily on economic health, is threatened. Moscow, needing the more advanced technological and industrial capabilities of its allies, pushes gently and promises more political breathing room.

This is space the West can use. A coordinated Western approach can increase broadcasting, cultural exchanges, travel and business contacts. It can also require of Eastern Europe more rational economic policies in return for reduced trade quotas and stepped-up credits and investments. Such an approach could stimulate economic progress, as well as political and social reform.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

America's Wealth Gap

Incomes have become more unequal in the United States in the past decade. The poor have become poorer since the middle 1970s, and the rich richer. That trend has been apparent for some time. Now the Congressional Budget Office has published a study showing that the federal tax system has simultaneously become less progressive. Tax rates have risen for the poor and middle classes, while declining sharply for the top tenth of the population.

Congress tried to change the balance for the better in the income tax reform bill last year, and the income tax is fairer now than it was. But those improvements have been swamped by the increasing Social Security tax and the other payroll taxes that pay for social insurance. While legally an employer pays only half of the Social Security tax and the employer pays the rest, the economic reality — as the CBO observes — is that, directly or indirectly, the employer bears all of it. Coupled that way, four-fifths of all Americans — all but the wealthiest — are now paying more in social insurance taxes than in individual income taxes. The income tax rates have had more attention in recent years than they deserved. The growing importance of the mercilessly regressive payroll taxes has been largely neglected.

The virtue of the CBO's study is that it puts together all the federal taxes, including corporate income and excise taxes, to measure their impact on individuals. While there is more than one way to calculate these burdens, the general pattern is beyond argument. The average effective rate of all the federal taxes together is the same as it was 10 years ago. But their weight has shifted significantly, to the advantage of the 20 percent of the population with the highest incomes. For nearly everyone else, poor through upper-middle, total tax rates are now higher.

The shift toward greater inequality in American incomes began well before the Reagan administration, and some of it is due to demographic change. The increasing number of families headed by women increases the poverty of people at the bottom of the income ladder, while the increasing number of two-income families benefits those at the upper rungs. But some of the change directly reflects public policy. In its assessment of Mr. Reagan's record at the end of his first term, the Urban Institute found that the spending cuts had reduced the incomes mainly of the poor, while the tax cuts had raised the incomes mainly of the more affluent. Those conclusions still hold true. While the growing distance between rich and poor did not begin with the Reagan administration, the politics of the past six years have widened it.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Opposed Slants on Nicaragua

Americans are still furiously debating the nature of the Sandinista regime and its intent in regard to the Arias peace plan, but surely that question has been settled conclusively by the photos that appeared after the opening of the party congress in Moscow. In them, Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua can be seen sitting next to Erich Honecker of East Germany and Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, in the section reserved for the leaders of Leninist governments in good standing.

Soviet rituals continue to serve as very precise political indicators. Just as we would know at once that Mikhail Gorbachev had been demoted if another Politburo member had been the first to speak in the recent Central Committee meeting, equally the seating of Mr. Ortega conveyed a very definite message: The Sandinista regime has been admitted to the very exclusive club of governments that the Soviet Union regards as permanent, organic allies.

A basic Soviet doctrine is that once a fully fledged Leninist regime is established, there can be no backsliding, no reversion to democratic governance.

The irreversibility doctrine imposes demanding admission criteria. It requires the definite assessment that a faraway exotic regime means to remain faithful to Moscow in all things, including military cooperation. Second, it demands an even character judgment that the regime has the determination and ability to remain in power. Third, it exposes the Soviet Union to risky out-of-area confrontations to protect the regime. Finally, it means that the Soviet Union will face demands for military and economic aid.

While Americans continue to argue over the sincerity of the Sandinista acceptance of the Arias peace plan, it seems that in Moscow the question is regarded as settled. Leninist governments can make all sorts of tactical accommodations, but they must retain an unchallenged monopoly of power, if there were any suspicion that the Sandinistas might actually allow the democratization required by the Arias peace plan, Mr. Ortega would not have been seated where he was.

— Edward N. Luttwak, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, writing in *The Washington Post*.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in their useful statement on U.S. policy in Central America, had two lessons to teach the White House.

They are right when they argue that there can be no military solution and that U.S. support of the contras fighting the government of Nicaragua is "morally flawed."

Even more important, the bishops said that they said only after consulting the bishops of Central America, including Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua, and Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas of San Salvador. This was not, like so many initiatives of the Reagan administration, an arrogant assertion of Yankee authority on the Central Americans but, rather, a respectful response to the needs as seen by the Central Americans themselves.

Washington's preoccupation with Nicaragua, the bishops found, has two faults, converting Central Americans into "pawns in a superpower struggle" and failing to respond adequately to the human rights violations, corruption, unemployment and other miseries that have brought the region "to the very brink of devastation."

The bishops gave unqualified support to the Aug. 7 Central American peace agreement. "Let us turn our energies and resources in the region from supplying weapons of war to building instruments of peace," the bishops said.

Amen.

— The Los Angeles Times.

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East Europeans Are Watching Gorbachev

By Jeri Laber

NEW YORK — Mikhail Gorbachev sent a strong signal to Eastern Europe when he said that "unity does not mean identity and uniformity." This more flexible approach also tacitly acknowledged the very real differences that already exist within the bloc.

During a visit I made recently to Czechoslovakia and Poland, I asked opposition leaders about the effects of glasnost. Czechoslovak leaders bitterly said that the new Soviet policies seemed to have passed them by. Poles were so involved in discussing the reforms now being introduced in their country that they barely mentioned Mr. Gorbachev.

Both countries have long-established opposition movements — Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and Solidarity in Poland. But there the resemblance ends. Since 1968, when Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops crushed a reform movement in Czechoslovakia known as the Prague Spring, the Czechoslovak government has exercised tight control over its population, arresting, isolating and ostracizing dissenters.

Poland, despite government efforts to suppress the Solidarity movement, remains the freest country in the Eastern bloc, with an active and independent Roman Catholic Church and a population known for its irreverent, irrepressible spirit.

The contrast between the two countries is especially vivid now. The Polish government has embarked on a series of economic reforms, promising the partial introduction of market economies, private and cooperative ownership and worker self-management. It is also promising "democratization," allowing an unusual degree of free discussion in the official press and liberalizing passport policies. "We're 10 years ahead of the Russians," a Solidarity leader told me. "The reforms are because of Solidarity, not Gorbachev." Some even suggested that "Gorbachev is because of Solidarity."

Many see an uncertain future for Solidarity, which has lost momentum, especially since Poland's political prisoners — whose late had united the opposition — were freed in September 1986 in a general amnesty. The government has further cut the ground from under Solidarity by adopting, or promising to adopt, many of the economic and social policies advocated by the Solidarity leadership. Solidarity leaders are now seeking new ways to remain a meaningful force within the society without letting themselves be compromised by the government. Confused and wary, they are also flustered by the excitement of the moment.

In Prague, however, nothing has changed. Charter 77 activists in Prague speak of the Soviet reforms with resentment, skepticism or irony. They recall the reforms that revolutionized Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring and were brought to a cruel, unnatural end by the very country that now advocates similar changes.

Czechoslovakia will follow its own path, distinct from that of the Soviet Union. At one point, Mr. Gorbachev's speeches were censored in the official Czechoslovak press.

Although there have been no recent arrests of prominent dissidents in Prague, detentions and trials continue in other parts of the country involving people whose names are not known abroad. On Oct. 22, while I was in Prague, three well-known Charter 77 leaders were subjected to intensive house searches by the police, their writings and books were confiscated, together with "criminal instruments" such as typewriters.

Charter 77 activists in Prague speak of the Soviet reforms with resentment, skepticism or irony. They recall the reforms that revolutionized Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring and were brought to a cruel, unnatural end by the very country that now advocates similar changes.

They see no hope that the Husak government — anti-reformists put in power by Soviet troops — will do anything that might undermine its position of security and privilege.

Yet if Mr. Gorbachev's policies prevail in the Soviet Union, change will come to Eastern Europe. Even one of the most cynical Charter 77 activists admitted the possibility: "If Gorbachev succeeds in the Soviet Union, it's the only hope for us."

It is reasonable to assume that the most repressive East European countries — Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia — there are many like him who are closely watching the Soviet experiment, waiting for a time when they, like their Polish neighbors, can begin to think of taking their future into their own hands.

The writer is executive director of Helsinki Watch, an organization that monitors compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. He contributed this column to *The New York Times*.

OPINION

The Harder Problem Is El Salvador

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON — It is dawdling on people that the tough case in Central America is El Salvador, not Nicaragua, and almost no one wants to take it on. It's too hard.

Nicaragua is tough because it has had a revolution. Paradoxically, that is its potential saving grace. The Nicaraguan people dispute the second, Sandinista revolution, but most of them accept the first, anti-Somozas one. Somewhere in between the first and second revolutions may lie terrain on which Nicaraguans can at least reach a modicum of peace. This is the premise that current peace efforts are premised on. The opposite reason, it has not had a revolution. The power of the old feudal-military oligarchy has been clipped but not broken by the democratic tendency represented by President José Napoleon Duarte. Against that power stands a leftist movement with a not entirely mindless conviction that access to El Salvador's brand of democracy may lead to a dead end.

The Reagan administration needed a model in Central America and was

There is a notion that it can perhaps be ignored.

easily drawn to the democratic dream and the heroism of the Duarte government. It was right to conduct that sort of policy, and Congress was right to support it. It did not see how Washington could have done otherwise.

But although U.S. policy has kept the Duarte government afloat and seen success by some measures, overall it has been a failure. A cruel guerrilla challenge persists, the people suffer, the economy is a wreck and democracy probably could not survive U.S. disengagement. For the first time in the history of U.S. foreign aid, aid to El Salvador this year (\$608 million) exceeds a country's own contribution to its budget (\$582 million).

Senator Mark Hatfield, a Republican, and Representative Jim Leach, an Iowa Republican, and George Miller, a California Democrat, cite this somber fact in a report to the congressional Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus entitled "Bankruptcy Failure: United States Policy in El Salvador" and the Urgent Need for Reform. Blaming the doubly embattled Duarte government for most of El Salvador's woes and suggesting an aid squeeze in the name of reform, the report amounts to opening a second front against El Salvador's frail democracy. It cannot be taken seriously.

But the report is a telling reminder that most of us in Washington have averted our gaze from the contradictions of El Salvador, either because we felt that Nicaragua, with its more evident overlay of East-West conflict, was more urgent, or because we hoped too simply that Mr. Duarte's virtue would somehow reap its own reward.

Now the question arises whether the El Salvador struggle can be tamed in the context of a regional peace agreement with Nicaragua. The U.S. committee's plea for a cooperative and credible common Western assessment is wholly justified. The evidence cited in its report nonetheless leads weight to the argument that widely accepted statements of the West's hopeless disadvantage in conventional forces, or claims that Europe by itself is helpless before the Soviet threat, are dangerous nonsense.

There certainly is a threat. Its exaggeration serves mainly the interests of those unwilling to do anything serious about it.

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Walesa on Gorbachev: 'We React the Same Way ...'

FROM a meeting of Solidarity leaders in Gdansk on Oct. 21 emerged the formally unanimous decision, finally announced on Oct. 26, to boycott the Nov. 29 referendum on proposed economic and political reforms. During a break in the meeting, Lech Walesa was surprisingly open-minded. "We are still trying to understand," he said. "A referendum in an East European country is a riddle. In principle we are in favor, but of course it depends on whether we can trust the results."

Later he decided to sign the boycott declaration, probably in order to preserve the unity of Solidarity. Support for the referendum could have been interpreted as surrender to a government which has outlawed Solidarity. On the other hand, the boycott exposes Solidarity leaders to the risk of not being part of a process that might lead the country to stability.

Referendums are unusual in Communist countries. Did Mr. Walesa see a "Gorbachev effect"? "Certainly," he said, "but the economic factor remains the most important. We live in a system which is outdated, ineffective and unproductive. We have to reform it without violence. Then maybe we will no longer be

considered the beggars of Europe. And in that light we are looking with interest at what Gorbachev is doing. "The problem is that one man cannot fight the system; all his initiatives are blocked by the bureaucracy. I know that everything he says is absolutely necessary. But I wonder if we can reform our system without violence. We and Gorbachev are trying to do that."

Surprised that he saw a link between himself and Mr. Gorbachev, I asked if they had goals in common. "We react the same way to the same problems," Mr. Walesa said. "We realize that our system is useless. We want economic efficiency, which is impossible without political pluralism. As you can see, it is a vicious circle."

"Was he optimistic about the future of reform?" "The only doubt I have," he said, "is whether we will do it with or without violence. But I am sure we will reform the system. There is no other solution unless some big shot can still be found in the West willing to donate \$20 billion every year to Poland."

— Jan Gawronski, who visited Gdansk to interview Lech Walesa for Italy's Canale 5 television, contributed this to the *International Herald Tribune*.

A Cooler Assessment of the Soviet Military Threat

By William Pfaff

PARIS — Assessing the Soviet military threat to Europe is not so simple as it ought to be. Every major Western government has about the same idea of how to do it. An agreed NATO for comparison has been blocked since 1984 because of a trivial and absurd Greek-Turkish quarrel over accounting for Greek forces on an Aegean island. The United States publishes an annual force comparison which its allies find more than a trifle propagandistic.

Threat assessment is basic to policy assessment, but policy assessment all too often works backward to influence the assessment of the threat. If you like the looks of Mikhail Gorbachev you may be inclined to see Soviet forces on the central front as less threatening than if you think that his steel teeth (as Andrei Gromyko described them) are a better indication of his political personality than his rice smile.

A useful contribution to the debate has now been made by the Committee on Defense Questions and Armaments of the Assembly of the Western European Union. The WEU was set up in 1948, before NATO was created, to take charge of Europe's defense. It was largely superseded by NATO in 1949, but recently has become active again as pressures have grown to reduce the U.S. role in Europe's defense. It is made up of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands.

The timing is appropriate because President Ronald Reagan's forthcoming meeting in Washington with Mr. Gorbachev, to sign an agreement withdrawing intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe, is viewed with considerable, if stifled, alarm among the European allies. Their concern is that this treaty will be followed by other nuclear cuts, eventually producing an effective end to U.S. nuclear deterrence that functions at any level of conflict short of direct threat to the United States itself.

Western Europe would then be left, or so it is said, to confront an overwhelming Soviet conventional military superiority. The U.S.S.R. would become "the incontestable military master of the continent," as a French commentator puts it. This

argument goes on to say that German neutralization, "Finlandization" and Europe's capitulation — would follow as night follows day.

There are serious people in Europe who believe that this is nonsense. The new WEU committee report provides information on the conventional military balance that is widely neglected or ignored in the public debate. It gives the simplest conventional East-West military comparison, which is in "divisive equivalence" that take account of differences in size between Soviet and NATO divisions.

Referendums are unusual in Communist countries. Did Mr. Walesa see a "Gorbachev effect"? "Certainly," he said, "but the economic factor remains the most important. We live in a system which is outdated, ineffective and unproductive. We have to reform it without violence. Then maybe we will no longer be

the Warsaw Pact has a two-to-one advantage over NATO in tanks. But 34 percent of American main battle tanks are modern, manufactured in 1980s, and 41 percent of the total NATO tank force consist of 1980s models. The Soviet tank comparable to the modern American M-1 makes up only 3 percent of the Warsaw Pact total. And only 24 percent of all the Warsaw Pact's tanks have been manufactured since 1970.

Nearly half the total Warsaw Pact tank deployment — 23,000 out of 46,200 tanks — are 1940s model T-54s and T-55s. NATO has no tank that old in service. The WEU committee says, "NATO scraps its old tanks, or sells them to third countries; the Warsaw Pact keeps its in service."

NATO has some 17,000 modern, optically-guided anti-tank missiles deployed. The comparable Soviet missile is only now coming into service outside the Soviet army itself. The report says that "comparisons of Anti-Tank Guided Weapons by generation and date of entry into service, it seems likely that NATO has considerable superiority in sophisticated ATGW with high-kill probability."

The Warsaw Pact has a large numerical superiority in air defense fighters. The two sides (counting France in) have roughly equal numbers of fighter-bombers and ground-attack aircraft, the Western ones of considerable qualitative superiority.

There is more to a reasonable assessment of the total Soviet threat than this. The WEU committee's plea for a cooperative and credible common Western assessment is wholly justified. The evidence cited in its report nonetheless leads weight to the argument that widely accepted statements of the West's hopeless disadvantage in conventional forces, or claims that Europe by itself is helpless before the Soviet threat, are dangerous nonsense.

There certainly is a threat. Its exaggeration serves mainly the interests of those unwilling to do anything serious about it.

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Muscovites Are of Several Minds About Gorbachev

By Dimitri K. Simes

This is the first of two articles.

WASHINGTON — "Don't you find our whole conversation a little unreal?" an old friend asked me over lunch in Moscow a month ago.

We were at a table in the fashionable Ararat restaurant, sipping cognac and trading stories about mutual acquaintances as if we were trying to catch up after taking summer vacations.

I had been away from Russia since 1973 — an immigrant to America. Now, after 14 years as a U.S. Sovietologist and columnist, I had paid a brief visit to Moscow as part of the press entourage accompanying Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Advisor Frank Carlucci.

The strongest impression from my visit was of a cloud of anxiety hanging

over the Bolshiev revolution, political slogans were not so prominent.

On the other hand, food supplies in government stores were scarcer and the lines longer. In the hard-currency-only National Restaurant, perhaps the most prestigious in Moscow, there was no meat. I had very fond memories of Ararat, one of Moscow's most popular restaurants, which specializes in cuisine from the southern republic of Georgia. But the appetizers were of such poor quality that I nibbled just enough to be polite.

Still, for someone like myself used

Nobody reported harassment in the last few months, but some found it impossible to regain positions from which they had been fired. Memories are long and, to a visitor from America, fears border on the paranoid.

I was taken aback a little, for instance, when the host informed me that, from the moment I called his apartment, his phone began sounding funny, as if there was some outside interference. I doubted that the KGB was so efficient, particularly since I used a pay phone. And while the people around the dinner table were clearly glad to see me, there was a sense of unease, almost nervousness, that inviting me was viewed by the regime as a daring act of defiance.

Yet despite their obvious suspicion that many nasty features of the system remain intact, they were more than willing to give Mr. Gorbachev the benefit of the doubt. Whatever they did not like about official behavior was attributed to bureaucratic resistance to the general secretary.

For these nonconformist intellectuals, Mr. Gorbachev's reforms are manna from heaven. "Glasnost," after all, had been their battle cry for decades before he appropriated the term as the slogan for his program.

Movies, plays and books, censored by the government for years, are now being released with almost no exception. Political prisoners — many of them personal friends of those around the table — are returning from jails, camps and mental institutions. One hears about new arrests on political grounds, but those arrested are rarely familiar to the capital's intellectual circles. They are either nationalists in distant ethnic republics or religious believers affiliated with officially disapproved cults.

Moreover, the Moscow community of nonconformists feels that the Kremlin is interested in an unprecedented dialogue. Some of its members, accustomed to the status of pariahs, have suddenly gained access to

For these nonconformist intellectuals in Moscow, the Gorbachev reforms are manna from heaven.

over perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev's plans to restructure society. Only among liberal intellectuals was there any constituency for risky experimentation that might threaten the foundations of the Soviet system. The real beneficiaries seem to be the group I call Soviet yuppies — well-educated professionals now prospering under Mr. Gorbachev's cultivation. The man in the street is unenthusiastic.

"Glasnost is for the bosses," growled a young cab driver, and his comment seemed to speak for the masses who see Mr. Gorbachev's reforms as an attack by the intelligentsia on ordinary working people.

The one serious difference between the Moscow I kept in my memory and the one I encountered in October was that the people were prepared to offer opinions. On the surface the city's drab appearance had not changed much. There were more new office buildings and hotels for foreigners, built mostly before the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The crowd was dressed a little better. The traffic was somewhat heavier. Street artists were drawing portraits of passers-by without visible interference from the police. Despite the approaching 70th anniversary of

the Bolshiev revolution, political slogans were not so prominent.

On the other hand, food supplies in government stores were scarcer and the lines longer. In the hard-currency-only National Restaurant, perhaps the most prestigious in Moscow, there was no meat. I had very fond memories of Ararat, one of Moscow's most popular restaurants, which specializes in cuisine from the southern republic of Georgia. But the appetizers were of such poor quality that I nibbled just enough to be polite.

Still, for someone like myself used

The writer, a syndicated columnist, is director of the U.S.-Soviet Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He contributed this column to *The Washington Post*.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1887: Lamb and Lion

TORONTO — Sir H.L. Langvin, Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. J.A. Chapleau, Dominion Secretary of State, were entertained at the Conservative Association at Montreal [on Nov. 22]. Mr. Chapleau strongly condemned commercial union with the United States, which he contended simply meant annexation. It would be the lion associating with the lamb, with the result that the lion would swallow the lamb. The whole scheme would never be endorsed by the people. The remarks were received with great applause.

1912: England Assured

PARIS — "Can Germany invade England?" by Colonel H.B. Hanna [London; Methuen and Co., Ltd.], is written to dispel the invasion scare, grounds for which, the author shows, cannot exist so long as Great Britain has command of the seas. He indicates by detail that the difficulties

of mobilization, concentration, embarkation of so large a force as a practical desert upon England would require are such as to render it impossible to undertake with the hope of taking England by surprise.

1937: Plot in France

PARIS — An organized plot to overthrow the French Republic and establish a dictatorial regime was revealed [on Nov. 23] by Marx Dormoy, Minister of the Interior, in a communique concerning discoveries made by the police during their search for arms and munitions throughout France during the past week. The communique disclosed that the organization popularly known as the Cagoules was in reality modeled on military material, its final objective was the restoration of monarchy in France after a period of dictatorial rule. No intimation came from official sources as to the ringleaders in the plot.

OPINION

Stunning Change in China, But the Key Link Is Missing

By William Safire

BEIJING — Too many Westerners are accepting the idea that communism can achieve prosperity by employing a form of controlled capitalism. Buyers of this notion find few sellers, resulting in a wild run-up in the market of political optimism.

In our euphoria, we embrace Deng Xiaoping's rejection of Mao's dictum, "Take class struggle as the key link," the philosophy that caused a generation of turmoil. On the contrary, Mr. Deng decided that production was the key link, and the progress has been stunning.

The last time I was here was soon after Mr. Deng ousted the Maoist Gang of Four. In 1977 the airport had not been expecting a plane, and after a wild scurrying about, a bowl of noodles was produced for pioneering Western travelers.

Today the new airport is bustling, immigration procedures are easy and tourists are whisked through hotels and auto traffic to high-rise hotels. The pictures of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin have been stripped from Tiananmen Square, which now features the face of "Comrade Sanders" at the world's largest outlet for Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Mr. Deng's triumph is this: The Chinese now not only feed themselves well, they export food — a claim that the Russians cannot make after 70 years. He has redirected the revolution so as to uncenter the industrialness and entrepreneurial spirit of the Chinese.

At 83, Mr. Deng has now ostentatiously stepped down, taking a group of the old comrades over the side with him, to demonstrate that orderly succession is possible in a Communist state.

Is it? We can be glad to see the relatively good guys in the saddle, but we should not overlook the San Andreas fault running down the middle of this political system. With no outlet for the expression of opposition — democratic or communist — seismic pressure is building. Consider three elements:

The Consensus Is Fragile

ALTHOUGH open to the West, the reformers are not interested in the Western model of democracy, which they consider a recipe for chaos. Uninterested in ideology for their own policy-making, they insist on drawing sharp ideological limits on public discussion as a way of maintaining social order. Speech is far freer in the inner councils of the party, where those closest to the power makers can voice harsh criticisms of the system without threatening its existence.

The successes of reform will surely bring splits among the leadership. Political consensus is real, but almost certainly temporary.

— Andrew J. Nathan, professor of political science at Columbia University, writing in Newsday.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

University of Chile, Under Pinochet's Thumb, Needs Help

We have received distressing news from colleagues at the University of Chile at Santiago. In 10 years the university budget and the number of students have been reduced by half and no positions have been opened for the recruitment of young scientists and teachers. The university is in distress.

Last September, President Augusto Pinochet designated José Federico as rector without consulting the administration or faculty. The university community resented the move, and 11 out of 13 members of the administrative council, among them the elected deans of the different faculties, took the view that Mr. Federico had no credentials to rule the university.

Mr. Federico had no credentials to rule the university. In response, Mr. Federico dismissed four deans and closed the university, impeding access of the professors, students, researchers and technicians to the university premises.

A more recent move by Mr. Federico was to dismiss 35 other professors and expel 150 students. The dismissal of the tenured system instituted in recent years. Criticism mounted, resulting in the replacement of Mr. Federico by Professor Juan de Dios Vial on Oct. 29. Reports indicate that the university has reopened, although the professors who were dismissed have not been reinstated. The appointment of a new rector is an encouraging development, which gives hope for a reversal of the recent repression.

The international community may be able to help our Chilean colleagues in their efforts to defend academic freedom and scientific research in Chile. Those who are dedicated to the principles of intellectual freedom and civil liberties can make known their opposition to the dismissal of the professors of the University of Chile by sending letters to the following persons:

Professor Juan de Dios Vial, Rector, Universidad de Chile, Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins, Santiago, Chile; Juan Antonio Guzmán, Ministro de Educación Pública, same address.

ALEXANDER MAURO, Rockefeller University, New York; HERSCHE M. GERSCHENFELD, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris.

There is no alternative to this mode of waste disposal, barring elimination of the manufacturing processes that produce the waste, along with the commodities so important to life-styles, even of social scientists.

The eminent social scientists in the Greenpeace organization are probably innocent of any chemistry education. That they occupy their time with demonstrations against the combustion ships is compelling evidence that they cannot be taken seriously.

FRANK VANCE, San Diego.

Who's Infecting Whom?

Your report "Lack of AIDS Blood Screening in Some Nations Raises Concern" (Sept. 29), on the need to carry blood plasma on trips to Africa, is the sort of misinformation that continues to link Africa with AIDS. It might be found that the greater the number of European and American tourists an African country receives, the higher the incidence of AIDS. The implications would be clear to your readers — and to African countries whose economies depend on tourism.

WALE MABAWONKU, Tokyo.

A Waste of Their Time

We learn that Greenpeace environmentalists have demonstrated against a hazardous-waste combustion ship, the U.S.-owned Vulcanus-2 (IHT, Oct. 16).

The combustion apparatus of these ships was designed by chemical engineers like myself to accomplish complete destruction of hazardous wastes. All organic chemicals are converted to carbon dioxide and water vapor. Such appendages as nitrogen, halogens and metals become separated from the parent molecules and emerge as oxides, but in very low concentration. The metal oxides remain airborne or settle into the ocean. Their concentration would be too low to measure. The bulk of the effluvia consists of carbon dioxide and water vapor.

The carbon dioxide eventually joins the layer in the stratosphere. This is not beneficial, but it involves a tiny fraction of the carbon dioxide produced by worldwide generation of electricity, not to mention automobile exhaust.

Auden Minus 12 Years

In "South Africa: Struck Dumb by the Ogre" (Nov. 13), Timothy S. Healy starts and ends by quoting a W. H. Auden poem, which he says was written about "the Hungarian revolt in 1956." The poem is called "August 1968" and was written about Czechoslovakia.

ALAN LEVY, Vienna.

Four-Fifths of the Population Then Rowed Home to Church

By William F. Buckley Jr.

PITCAIRN ISLAND — In 1800, John Adams was preparing to step down from the presidency of the United States, having survived a mutiny against King George III. In 1800, another John Adams ascended to the unstructured presidency of Pitcairn Island, the last survivor of a mutiny against William Bligh, captain of the Bounty, faithful, heroic, satirical servant of George III. Pitcairn is regularly referred to as the

remotest island in the world of insular notoriety. St. Helena, where Napoleon was sent off to rusticate, is a mere 1,200 miles (1,900 kilometers) from mainland Africa. Pitcairn is 3,000 miles from Latin America to the east, 3,000 miles from New Zealand to the west. South of Pitcairn is nothing — until you hit the Antarctic. John Adams arrived here in 1790, eight months after the mutiny headed by Fletcher Christian. They came from Tahiti; nine mutineers, six children and 120 British sailors.

In those days, the king pursued subordinate servants more vigorously than we pursue our traitors. Adams & Co. came to Pitcairn because practically no one knew of its existence. It was remote, deserted (no Polynesian was left), equable in temperature, fertile with tropical fruit, small (two square miles) and inaccessible except to friendly visitors. Invading Bounty Bay might be compared to an amphibious operation up Niagara Falls. They came here and burned the Bounty to eliminate it from preying British eyes. Meanwhile, those of their companions who declined to leave Tahiti to go to Pitcairn were brought back for trial in London. Three were hanged; a half-dozen were granted clemency because of ambiguous evidence. The point of those who went to Pitcairn was to get safely away until it all blew over.

Twenty-five years after the mutiny it did blow over, and the little colony at Pitcairn was told more or less officially that all was forgiven. At that point, after all, only John Adams was alive, his fellow mutineers having been, for the most part, murdered during one of Pitcairn's unruly spells. But mutiny-on-the-Bounty watchers were astonished at that point, even as everyone was astonished on two subsequent occasions, when Pitcairn's simply declined to evaporate.

In 1831, the whole colony moved to Tahiti, thinking this a reasonable thing to do; but lo, in a matter of months, suffering from homesickness, they most-ly returned. And then again in 1856, resolving that 158 islanders threatened a population explosion that would overwhelm the resources of the little mountainous island, the entire colony packed off to Norfolk Island, north of New Zealand; but the same thing happened.

At high-tea time they are all on board, four generations of islanders. They spend three happy hours, communicating their cheer. And, after sunset, they board their longboat — 80 percent of Pitcairn's population — and sing out their happy-melancholy farewell songs. "In the sweet bye and bye / We shall part nevermore when we meet / On the be-you-tiful shore ..."

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Veterans of Afghan War Now Fighting for Soviet Recognition and Honor

By Bill Keller

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan have started a nationwide organization to combat official neglect of those who served in the war and to press for monuments honoring soldiers killed there, according to organizers of the group.

The formation of the group, which was organized with official support, represents the most significant response to the mounting discontent of Afghanistans veterans, a group whose concerns have only recently begun to emerge.

At a press conference organized Saturday by the youth department of the official press syndicate, Novosti, leaders of the group said they had already won official approval for construction of the first national memorial honoring soldiers killed in the fighting.

The national memorial is to be paid for by public contributions and money earned by volunteer work, the veterans said Saturday, and is likely to be erected in Moscow after a design competition.

Nominally the monument will honor Soviet combatants slain in all "internationalist" campaigns, from the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s to the 1968 Soviet incursion in Czechoslovakia. But the project is clearly aimed at the veterans of Afghanistan.

Leaders of the group also said that 2,000 service veterans who concluded a conference last week in Ashkhabad approved a list of demands including an end to discrimination against disabled veterans in housing and employment and better pensions for the families of those killed in the war.

The 10-day meeting in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenia, a Soviet republic bordering Afghanistan, was conducted under the auspices of Komsomol, the youth arm of the Communist Party, in an effort to provide official support — and direction — for informal veterans groups that have sprung up around the country.

The work of the group was reported Saturday night on the prime-time television news program, and the full list of the veterans' demands is to be published in the official press.

Western diplomats estimate that at least half a million Soviet soldiers have served in Afghanistan, and that at least 12,000 have died. No estimate of casualties has been published in the Soviet press.

"Some soldiers would also like to know that number," said Vladimir

Klimov, a veterans' leader who served in Afghanistan in 1980 and 1981. "But at this point it is not available to us."

Somewhat like American soldiers who returned from Vietnam, veterans of Afghanistan often find that citizens prefer not to hear about the war or view it with distaste. There is no organized opposition to the Soviet military role, but a recent poll conducted in Moscow by French and Soviet pollsters found that a majority supported total withdrawal.

The veterans who spoke Saturday defended the Soviet decision to enter Afghanistan in 1979, although one, Yuri Severinichik, who returned in 1982 and now heads a veterans' group in Moldavia, acknowledged that the war has damaged Soviet prestige.

Veterans of the eight-year-long war, often called "Afghantsi," have already organized in different cities, sometimes with local Komsomol support but often on their own.

Visitors to Leningrad in August were started to see a crowd of 200 veterans to blue berets like those worn by Soviet paratroopers marching through the city in a demonstration intended to draw attention to the sacrifices of Afghanistans veterans.

Veterans who spoke Saturday said the vast majority of the groups were devoted to more constructive activities like providing solace and financial support to families of slain servicemen, who often receive minimal pensions, and offering sports training for youngsters approaching draft age.

The organization of the nationwide veterans' group is an effort by Komsomol to steer the veterans to what authorities consider a positive direction, and to make amends for Komsomol's admitted failure to fully address the problems.

The new group, affiliated with the Central Committee of Komsomol, is to press for better veterans' benefits, public respect for those who served, and physical training and indoctrination of teen-agers destined for military service.

Afghanistans veterans also complain that they do not receive all of the privileges accorded soldiers who served in World War II. Like veterans of earlier conflicts, Afghanistans veterans are entitled to a better choice of vacation times from their employers, easier entry into universities, and priority in getting telephones. But they are not guaranteed access to the special, better-supplied stores that serve older veterans.

Selling of the Summit: How White House Uses 'Focus Groups'

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Five men and six women who met in Philadelphia last month were given blank index cards and asked to write answers to two questions.

What would be a good thing to happen to the United States? And who could bring it about?

The United States could have "peace with all its enemies," one of them wrote in response to the first question.

And who could do that? "An extreme good president, Congress and Senate and a miracle from God."

The participants did not know it, but their answers to these questions and to questions about President Ronald Reagan and U.S.-Soviet relations were part of a White House drive to prepare for the summit meeting next month with Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

A speech that Mr. Reagan is planning to deliver in Denver on Tuesday is a direct outgrowth of what the Philadelphians had to say about the Strategic Defense Initiative, Mr. Reagan's proposed space-based missile defense system.

The two-hour discussion was later scrutinized by high-ranking assistants to Mr. Reagan and by Richard Wirthlin, the president's longtime pollster, whose company set up two such sessions, known as

"focus groups," on Oct. 5 in anticipation of a Reagan-Gorbachev meeting.

The Philadelphia groups talked about their impressions of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev and about their hopes and expectations for a summit meeting. They also responded to suggested themes and arguments about a treaty that Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev are expected to sign to eliminate medium- and short-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

The focus groups are a common tool in commercial marketing strategy and, increasingly, to political campaigns. Although not influencing the substance of the superpower diplomacy, the technique is an element of the strategy of selling the outcome of the summit meeting to the American people, which is the next step of summit diplomacy.

Although it was not disclosed at the time, the White House used similar groups before Mr. Reagan's meetings with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva and Reykjavik, and before his State of the Union speeches.

In this case, the participants were recruited in Philadelphia by Mr. Wirthlin's company to reflect a cross-section of the population, but they were not told in advance the purpose of the sessions. They met after work in a specially outfitted room where Mr. Wirthlin's analysts could watch and listen to their reactions without being seen.

The president is given a summary of the focus group discussions. Mr. Wirthlin said it gives Mr. Reagan "an opportunity to listen to the voice of the average American and provides him a way to understand the hopes and aspirations" of the

words and language about problems," he said. "You can get underneath the numbers of a poll. You can get them to use words and phrases that you just can't get out of an interview. You get a depth and a feel."

The words and phrases used in Philadelphia will be echoed by Mr. Reagan in the weeks ahead.

The summit meeting next month is different from Mr. Reagan's previous meetings with Mr. Gorbachev because it is the first to center on the expected signing of a major arms-control agreement. The White House staff is using the focus group comments to help structure a campaign for Senate ratification of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty.

According to many public-opinion polls, the agreement generally enjoys wide support among Americans. But the Philadelphia focus groups demonstrated people remain ignorant of the details of the treaty and that Mr. Reagan has plenty of room to influence their impressions of it.

"We have an opportunity to develop the landscape, the playing field," said Thomas C. Griscom, the White House communications director, who is taking a leading role in the summit planning along with Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, the national security adviser.

Mr. Griscom and General Powell head

a White House team trying to nail down the summit script, despite such problems as the collapse last Friday of plans for Mr. Gorbachev to address Congress.

One of the surprising findings from the Philadelphia focus group was that the participants saw little direct benefit from an arms agreement that eliminated medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Rather, they attached more significance to the treaty as a "first step" toward reducing the big intercontinental nuclear missiles with which each superpower could attack the other.

This view of the treaty was evident when the focus groups were asked which themes they felt were most compelling for the summit meeting.

The highest score went to "First Step for Peace," which, according to the participants, was the most literal representation of how they felt. By contrast, the participants were ambivalent about "A Step in a New Direction." They were cool toward the theme "Little More Hope for the Human Heart."

The White House subsequently adopted the "first step" idea as the theme of the summit meeting. It is a symbolic twist to show that the treaty is not the culmination of the meeting, but rather the starting point, the document is to be signed on the second day of Mr. Gorbachev's meetings, rather than at the end, White House officials said.

'The advantage of focus groups is that you can get people talking in their own words and language about problems. You can get underneath the numbers of a poll.'

— Peter Hart, Democratic pollster

public "without anyone intervening between him and the public."

A Democratic Party pollster, Peter Hart, said that although a focus group "doesn't make a world," it can add a valuable dimension beyond public-opinion surveys.

"The advantage of focus groups is that you can get people talking in their own

Dhaka Police Fire On Crowd During Press Ban Protest

Reuters

DHAKA, Bangladesh — Riot police fired blanks to break up street fighting here on Monday between government and opposition supporters.

The opposition called the rally to protest the government ban on the printing in national newspapers of statements and photographs of strike violence. It occurred during a nationwide anti-government strike aimed at forcing President Hussain Mohammed Ershad to resign.

Paramilitary forces fired 42 blank rounds to disperse the crowds in Dhaka, police said.

General Ershad, speaking to senior Home Ministry officials, said that he would "protect the sovereignty of the country to the last drop of my blood." Officials reported that he ordered police to get together with the protesters.

Earlier, riot police used bamboo batons to break up a rally in Dhaka by the opposition Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Home-made bombs were reported thrown.

Police arrested a journalist, He was Ataus Samad, a freelancer working for the British Broadcasting Corporation.



A Dhaka bicycle taxi driver wounded on Monday by a bomb explosion is wheeled to the hospital by colleagues.

Nixon Offered Arms Advice to U.S. and Soviets

Reuters

NEW YORK — Former President Richard M. Nixon sought to broker a meeting and possibly an arms control deal between President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Time magazine has reported.

Time obtained a 26-page confidential memorandum to Mr. Reagan in which Mr. Nixon reported that he had sought to persuade Mr. Gorbachev that he should do business with Mr. Reagan. The memorandum also tried to convince Mr. Reagan that he should seek a major strategic-arms deal.

Mr. Nixon wrote the memo after meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow in July 1986, Time said in its current issue.

Mr. Nixon told the Soviet leader that Mr. Reagan "could get Senate approval of any agreement he made." He added that failure to reach an agreement might make Mr. Reagan "a powerful critic."

"I don't believe anything I said during the conversation had a greater impact" on Mr. Gorbachev, Time quoted the memo as saying.

For Three Days El Salvador Stopped the Fighting and Began Shooting.



For the past three years, the fighting in El Salvador stopped on three separate Sundays so more than 250,000 children could be vaccinated in a Unicef initiated programme. This may sound an amazing feat, but it is only one example of how Unicef — by its apolitical nature — can help save thousands of children's lives.

As recently as 1983 only ten percent of children in the developing world were vaccinated against six of the top killer diseases: measles, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, tuberculosis and diphtheria. But now almost eighty developing countries throughout the world have joined Unicef's campaign for Universal Child Immunization by 1990. With this

achievement, thousands of children who would otherwise die will have a chance to



survive. And the cost per child can be as low as \$5.00.

Universal Immunization is only one example of Unicef's commitment to the well-being of children in the developing world. In co-operation with local government partners, Unicef provides not only emergency relief, but material support, primary health care and education programmes which promote long-range community self-help. That is why Unicef gives children not just a food parcel for the day, but a survival kit for many years.

If you want to help us help children, buy Unicef Greeting Cards this holiday season, or contact your nearest Unicef National Committee for more information.

Children Count on Us. Can We Count on You?



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NIGERIA: From Boom to Bust, Trying for a Comeback

(Continued from Page 1)

dent, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, who was wounded in the Biafra war, announced plans last summer for a phased return to civilian rule by 1992.

Determined to create "a new political movement," General Babangida moved in September to ban virtually all former politicians from running for office.

"The basic idea is that Nigeria starts with a clean slate," said Ray Ekpu, the editor of Newswatch, an independent weekly.

The blanket ban met with little outcry from Nigerians. Widespread corruption marred two earlier experiences with civilian rule.

The next events on the president's political calendar are local elections, which are to be held Dec. 12 on a nonparty basis. These are to be followed by a constitutional convention, the formation of two political parties, state elections, a national census, and a presidential election in 1992.

"It's going to be a rough five years for Babangida to get through," a senior Western diplomat in Nigeria said.

A major obstacle to creating a Western-style democracy is expected to be the carrying out of a national census. Most estimates put the population at 105 million, but no one knows for sure. The last accepted census was in 1963. Two others were canceled because of charges of fraud.

Counting heads bears directly on what may become the explosive issue in Nigeria in the late 1980s — religion.

Although no one knows whether Nigeria has more Moslems or Christians, most heads of state since independence have been Moslem northerners.

But recently, growing Islamic fundamentalism has strained Nigerian religious tolerance. Fundamentalist leaders have called for making Nigeria an Islamic state and for imposing Islamic law throughout the land.

Last March, religious animosity boiled over to the north. Three mosques were desecrated and about 100 churches were burned. Stung by the destruction, Christian leaders are raising money to rebuild.

"The Christians are not going to pull out from the north," said Anthony Oluwunmi Okogie, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Lagos.

"If one hair of a Christian is plucked out, we will pluck out a Moslem hair."

In early November, General Babangida threatened to silence radical religious leaders by warning: "Religious bigotry and zealotism have not helped to provide answers to the failures of the past."

With the United States traditionally the largest buyer, oil has accounted for 95 percent of Nigeria's exports. But because of falling energy prices, oil revenues fell from \$24 billion in 1980 to \$5.6 billion in 1986. At the same time, a million new people joined the labor pool each year.

Many Nigerians and Westerners agreed that radical surgery was needed, but nationalist sentiment precluded turning to the International Monetary Fund. Instead, the government ostentatiously rejected an IMF loan, and then adopted a "structural adjustment program" that was far more radical than what the fund would probably have imposed.

Fixed exchange rates were abolished and the value of the national currency, the naira, was allowed to float. It dropped from parity with the dollar to the current rate of well over four to the dollar.

Commodity marketing boards were abolished, allowing producer prices to rise. Production of cocoa, cotton, and palm oil rebounded.

"The program is an impressive success," a European banker here said.

As the devaluation suddenly put a true price on imported goods, middle-class Nigerians found that

they could no longer afford foreign cars, shopping trips to London and university education in the United States.

The next round of austerity is expected to cut deeper. Prices of gasoline, electricity, telephone service, rail travel, and mail are to increase 500 as government subsidies are withdrawn.

At 32 cents a gallon, gasoline is one-tenth the price of gas in neighboring Chad. Gas stations near Nigeria's borders routinely sell three times as much as stations to the interior, officials say. With the cheapest jet fuel on the west coast of Africa, foreign airlines never leave Lagos without filling up.

As Nigeria seeks to pull out of six years of unbroken economic decline, Nigerians are trying to resolve a basic psychological conflict between the need to mesh smoothly with the rest of the world and their pride as the home to one out of five blacks in the world.

Playing to Nigerians' self-image as the world's future black superpower, Bolaji Akinyemi, Nigeria's foreign minister, urged his countrymen earlier this year to develop a "black bomb."

"Nigeria has a sacred responsibility to challenge the racial monopoly of nuclear weapons," he said. Since then, talk of developing a nuclear weapon has died down.

Mr. Akinyemi recently outlined his view of Nigeria in the world.

"Some of us dream of Nigeria being to blacks in the diaspora what Jerusalem is to Jews in the diaspora," he said.

He noted that Nigerian ambassadors, who are often the only representatives of black Africa to many world capitals, are instructed to reserve a third of their guest lists to "blacks in the diaspora."

"We are acutely aware that if we make it in this country, it will shine on the image of the international black community," he said. "If we fail, we will have denied very badly the image of the international black community."

CUBANS: Atlanta Takeover

(Continued from Page 1)

three more hostages on Monday for health reasons.

"We do know who they are, and all the families have been notified," he said. Five to seven hostages were released Sunday, and 42 prisoners surrendered.

Mr. Johnson said the prisoners, who earlier demanded assurances of not being deported, were asking to be released.

"The most recent thing that I'm aware of was the demand for pure release — freedom, period," he said.

Prison officials promised not to move to unless the hostages were endangered.

"They always remind us that any attempt to rush the facility in any manner, armed or unarmed, they are going to kill the hostages," Mr. Johnson said. "They've made that very clear."

Very few officials had evidence that the hostages had not been harmed.

The 1,000 prisoners at Oakdale rioted and set fires on Saturday following Friday's announcement of the U.S.-Cuban agreement.

Thirteen employees and inmates from the center were in stable condition with minor injuries, a hospital spokesman said.

Prison officials said the Cubans, after a day of squabbling, selected six spokesmen on Monday who talked with officials. About three-fourths of the prison complex was destroyed by rioting and fires, officials said.

Mr. Johnson said the inmates, armed with homemade weapons, did not believe government assurances that few of them would be deported to Cuba under the agreement.

He confirmed that 200 to 300 of the prisoners had been approved for parole and that 200 to 300 had their cases before review boards. He said most would have been approved.

Most of the Cubans to be deported were housed at the Atlanta and Louisiana facilities.

London Gunman Shot Dead

Reuters

LONDON — A gunman was shot dead and another was wounded by the police on Monday after a car chase through London streets. Detectives in the suburb of Woolwich, in southeast London, said they were chasing three men who stole cash from a security van.

DEATH NOTICE

RICARDO FUENTES-STONF, Advertising Representative of the International Herald Tribune in Chile, passed away on Saturday, November 19, 1987. He will be missed by his colleagues.

1987/11/24

ARTS / LEISURE

Lingerie Is Back in Vogue, Following Fashion Trends

NEW YORK — Marlene Dietrich reportedly told her director once that she needed pure silk underwear to wear in one of her scenes. "What for?" he said, "Nobody is going to see it." "No," she said. "But I will and I'll move better."

World War II austerity, current feminine dressing is a reaction to the layered, masculine and minimal looks that preceded it. For Oscar de la Renta, the reason for the seductive new clothes is that "women are more preoccupied with keeping their bodies fit than ever before."

wild, Hochman answered: "It can never be too wild. Women need romance and glamour in their lives." You won't find the quiet Hochman, 40, in the society pages or the gossip columns. But she and her husband, Neal — she designs, he handles the business — have made a huge success of what was a modest family lingerie business.

shayed in marabou-trimmed negligees or the skinniest of silk slips. Then, it faded out. "The war had a very negative influence," Carole Hochman said. "Women's lives were very difficult. Then the party-hose was a real killer. Women just slipped on pantyhose and forgot about beautiful underwear. In the '50s, there were wonderful foundations — mainly Dior's *guipure* — but this was more corsetry than lingerie."

Hochman traces the return of sexy lingerie to the early '80s. "In the '70s, there was the androgynous look and women's lib. Women wanted to be treated like men. In the '80s, women are very secure. I think they've accomplished a lot and the female is coming back."

Color is of little importance to Hochman, who cares more about fashion trends. For instance, with the very short skirts, she is now pushing lace-edged slips "because it's sexy to get a glimpse of lace when the woman sits down."

There still is a lot of difference between Europe and the United States, Hochman says. "In Europe, I don't think you find too many women wearing expensive lingerie. It's an indulgence."



Carole Hochman in her New York workshop.

French National Library Gets Historian Director

PARIS — Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, who has been appointed the director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, France's national library, is one of the few European scholars whose name is known to American readers as well as historians.

He is ranked as the foremost French historian of his generation and one of the two or three most influential historians in the world. His books have been building a steady readership in the United States. "Jassin's Witch," his latest book from his American publisher, George Braziller, is a portrait of village superstitions in the south of France over several centuries.

In a recent interview, Le Roy Ladurie explained that the "Annales" school uses modern tools — computers, carbon-14 dating, mathematical formulas and statistical records — to arrive at critical interpretations of everyday life. It recreates whole cultures by availing itself of other disciplines — anthropology, theology, demography, sociology.

In his research, Le Roy Ladurie has studied such phenomena as crop failures and famines to gauge the importance of climate in agrarian history. For example, he said, by using harvest dates and parish records and even analysis of tree trunks embedded in French glaciers, he has charted fluctuations in temperature and climate — and therefore in human fortunes — in Europe since 1000 A.D.

He said independent disciples of the French "Annales" school in American universities often use personal reportage. Others practice something similar — a first cousin of the "Annales" school known as "Cliometrics," which stresses scientific history that uses statistical analysis — for example, antebellum cotton production records and birth records to explain the state of mind of American slaves.

Le Roy Ladurie, who teaches European history at the Collège de France, said: "I was a 'Cliometrician' when I was much younger, but in a much less sophisticated way than the Americans. I used to rely more on mathematics, but I have long since broadened my interests into other fields. There are some new young historians in France who are still following the American techniques and using computers. But, of course, you can use a computer without being a 'Cliometrician.'"

The historian, who has taught at Princeton, Cornell, Pittsburgh, Michigan and Stanford, said he had used statistical sources to study health and crime. "Military archives can tell us about the height of recruits," he said. "Thus we learn about their food rations; the impoverished are smaller. So, too, Paris police records about prostitution tell us about social life. The records showed that Madame Du Barry, the mistress of Louis XV, had once been arrested for prostitution."

Speaking of the knowledge of American and French students about each other's history, he said: "I believe it is important for historians to convey how other countries regard one's own. Obviously, De Tocqueville tells us much about the United States. Interestingly, his recollections on America are very popular with the French, too. One deficiency of French research is that not enough is studied about American history. I hope that will be repaired here in the future."



Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie.

Book Prizes in Paris, Munich

As book prize season continues, the Belgian writer Pierre Mertens won France's Médicis prize and the French novelist Alain Absire took the Femina award on Monday, while an American novelist and an Italian writer won the prizes in the foreign categories.

Meanwhile, in Munich, one of West Germany's most prestigious book prizes was awarded to Christa Wolf, the East German author acclaimed in both German nations.

In close voting for the Femina best foreign novelist, 30-year-old Susan Minot's book "Monkeys," a first novel, was chosen by one vote over the "Harlem Quartet" by another American, James Baldwin, who has spent much of his writing career in a village in southern France.

The Femina's first prize carries with it a 5,000-franc (\$875) award and is voted on by a jury comprised primarily of prominent female French writers.

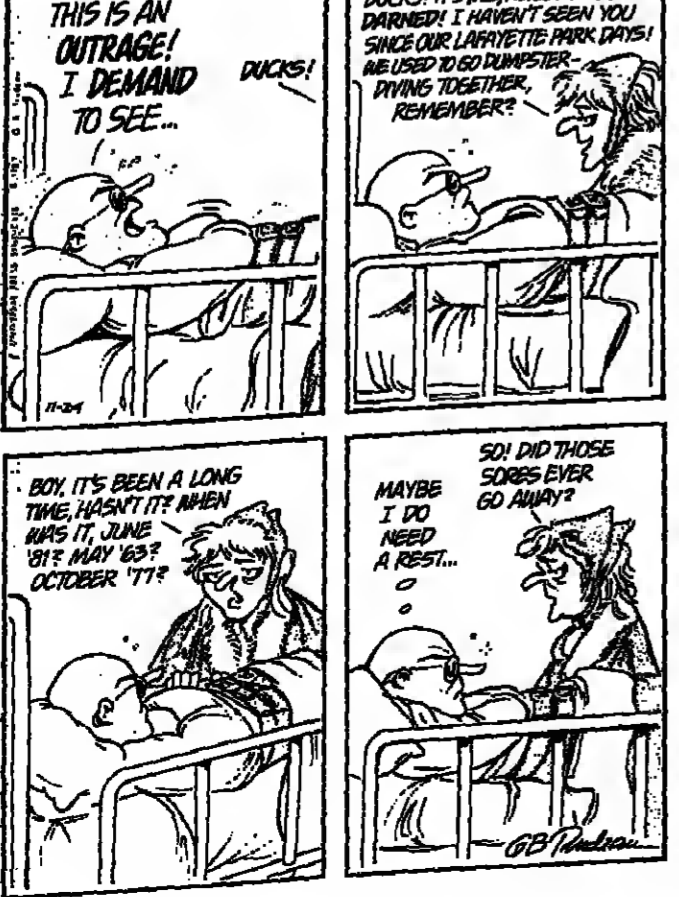
"Monkeys," published in its original edition in 1986, has already been translated into 10 languages and will soon be filmed.

Closely autobiographical, it tells the story of how a well-off family from Massachusetts breaks up with the accidental death of the mother.

The Médicis foreign award, which also carries a 5,000-franc prize, went to the Italian writer Antonio Tabucchi for "Nocturne Indien," which describes a journey through India in the search for a missing friend. The Médicis jury is made up of well-known French writers and critics.

Mertens, 48, won for his novel "Les Eblouissements" which describes the problems of the German poet Gottfried Benn in the face of Nazism, and Absire, 37, won for "L'Égal de Dieu," a tale set in the Middle Ages.

DOONESBURY



In Munich, the 58-year-old Wolf was cited for her latest book, "Sirocco," a best seller in both East Germany and West Germany after it came out last year. Its theme is the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. The 20,000-mark (about \$12,000) Schoff Prize is awarded annually to a German-language author by the city of Munich and the Bavarian Publishers Association. It is named for anti-fascist activists put to death by the Nazis in 1943.



But how attractive will her pension be?

London Guardian School Fee... DEATH NOTICE...
LONDON — A general election...
DEATH NOTICE — The late...
LONDON — A general election...
DEATH NOTICE — The late...
LONDON — A general election...
DEATH NOTICE — The late...

If Deutschmark investments are part of your pension fund strategy, you are familiar with the variety of DM instruments available. But, there are subtle differences in yields, liquidity, maturity, and depth of the market. There are yet other considerations which may require

tailor-made solutions. Our experts would like to talk to you about them. WestLB is one of the leading German banks issuing DM bonds. After all, we have over DM 60 billion in circulation worldwide. When the future of young people is at stake, make sure your plans include WestLB.

WestLB
The Westdeutsche Landesbank.
Düsseldorf Herzogstrasse 15, 4000 Düsseldorf 1, Telephone (211) 8 26 01, Telex 8 562 6 05
Beijing, Hong Kong, London, Luxembourg, Melbourne, Moscow, New York, Osaka, Paris, São Paulo, Tokyo, Toronto, Zurich

NYSE Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Ch.	
IBM	121.00	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
AT&T	48.00	47.00	47.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
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Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	

Market Sales	
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	121,100,000
NYSE prev. cons. close	121,100,000
Amex 4 a.m. volume	121,100,000
Amex prev. cons. close	121,100,000
OTC 4 a.m. volume	121,100,000
OTC prev. cons. close	121,100,000
NYSE volume up	121,100,000
NYSE volume down	121,100,000
Amex volume up	121,100,000
Amex volume down	121,100,000
OTC volume up	121,100,000
OTC volume down	121,100,000

NYSE Index				
Composite	High	Low	Close	Ch.
Industrial	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Transportation	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Utilities	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Finance	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Commodity	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25

Monday's NYSE Closing
Via The Associated Press

AMEX Diary		
Class	Prev.	Ch.
Advanced	121.10	+0.25
Industrial	121.10	+0.25
Transportation	121.10	+0.25
Utilities	121.10	+0.25
Finance	121.10	+0.25

NASDAQ Index			
Class	Ch.	Prev.	Ytd
Composite	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Advanced	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Industrial	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Transportation	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Utilities	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Finance	+0.25	121.10	+12.50

AMEX Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Ch.	
IBM	121.00	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
AT&T	48.00	47.00	47.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
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Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
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Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	
Amgen	52.00	51.00	51.00	+0.25	

Dow Jones Bond Averages		
Class	Ch.	Prev.
Govt	+0.25	121.10
Corp	+0.25	121.10
Industry	+0.25	121.10

NYSE Diary		
Class	Prev.	Ch.
Advanced	121.10	+0.25
Industrial	121.10	+0.25
Transportation	121.10	+0.25
Utilities	121.10	+0.25
Finance	121.10	+0.25

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.				
Nov 23	Nov 22	Nov 21	Nov 20	Nov 19
Nov 23	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Nov 22	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Nov 21	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Nov 20	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25
Nov 19	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25

Dow Jones Averages					
Index	High	Low	Last	Ch.	Prev.
Indus	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
Transp	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
Util	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
Fin	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25	
Comp	121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25	

Standard & Poor's Index				
Index	Ch.	Prev.	Ytd	Ch.
Composite	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	
Advanced	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	
Industrial	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	
Transportation	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	
Utilities	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	
Finance	+0.25	121.10	+12.50	

NASDAQ Diary			
Class	Ch.	Prev.	Ytd
Composite	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Advanced	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Industrial	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Transportation	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Utilities	+0.25	121.10	+12.50
Finance	+0.25	121.10	+12.50

AMEX Stock Index					
High	Low	Close	Ch.	Prev.	Ytd
121.10	120.00	120.00	+0.25		+12.50

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1	121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1
48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5	48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5

BUDGET: U.S. Accord Fails to Excite Markets

(Continued from Page 1)

ment the budget plan would be intense. "Are they going to really meet the commitments that were made by the negotiators, or is this going to be more of the same of trying to figure out easy ways out of hard problems?" he said.

Wall Street analysts said the monthlong effort to put the budget package together was far too long.

They said that the delays conveyed a sense of indecisiveness and politics-as-usual to the rest of the world, which already is worried that big U.S. trade and budget deficits are undermining global financial stability.

In Washington on Monday, the Treasury Department reported that the U.S. budget was in deficit by \$30.74 billion in October, the first month of the 1988 fiscal year, compared with \$25.29 billion in October 1986.

Analysts also noted that Friday's announcement did not include details of which taxes would be raised, which programs would be cut and how big the reductions would be.

The Merrill Lynch Market Letter said Monday that trading over the past few weeks appeared "to be part of a rebuilding process after the traumatic October break." It said the market probably would continue to "wobble until the damage, both technical and emotional, is repaired."

In addition to the budget agreement, "investors also are waiting for more conclusive evidence about what effect the October slide will have on the overall economy," said Anne Gregory, publisher of the newsletter.

"If news about the budget or the economy is regarded as disappointing, we probably will see a near-term test of the 1,750 to 1,800 zone in the Dow," she said.

"On the other hand, a push above 2,027, the peak of the first rebound from the October plunge, would be encouraging," she said.

Trude Latimer of Josephthal & Co. said, "The market is tired of worrying about the budget. The budget or the details are not going to dominate the scene." She said that the market would examine "each company and each industry to see how the budget impacts on them."

Ms. Latimer, noting that Thanksgiving week has traditionally been a positive time for the market, said that investors remain "very, very cautious and any moves should be fairly modest."

"Investors would like to step in and become buyers," she said. "But at the same time, investors are trying to find out what this market is all about. They are waiting for a mini-bif. There is clearly a lot of indecision."

With the budget talks completed, she said, the market is looking for something else to worry about, "and interest rates may be next."

"This was a classic dull session," said Bill Lord, a trader at Shearson Lehman Brothers. "It's the holiday syndrome: If Monday is slow, don't expect much for Tuesday and Wednesday."

(AP, Reuters, UPI, AFP)

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1	121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1
48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5	48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
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52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5

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12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1	121.10	120.00	IBM	1.20	4.8	12.1
48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5	48.00	47.00	AT&T	0.40	4.2	11.5
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52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
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52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5
52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5	52.00	51.00	Amgen	0.50	3.8	13.5

(Continued on next left-hand page)

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German Experts See No Signal Of Recession

By Ferdinand Prottzman International Herald Tribune FRANKFURT — West Germany's leading economic experts predicted Monday that economic growth would be tepid in 1988, but said they saw no indications of an impending recession.

Shearson Agrees to Talk With Hutton on a Merger

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK — Shearson Lehman Brothers, the big investment firm, said Monday that E.F. Hutton Group Inc. had approached it about a merger. Shearson said it hoped to begin negotiations "as soon as possible."

Air Deregulation's Unforeseen Impact Big Carriers Tighten Grip On Industry

By Agis Salpukas New York Times Service NEW YORK — When the U.S. airline industry was deregulated in 1978, the unfettered market was expected to give rise to scores of low-cost carriers that would create a bonanza for consumers.



Offering bargain fares and no-frills service, People Express was hailed as the most spectacular success story of airline deregulation. It ultimately was its biggest failure.

Midway Skirts the Big Boys, Survives

By Agis Salpukas New York Times Service NEW YORK — Just three years ago, Midway Airlines seemed on the verge of succumbing to the forces that have swallowed almost all the airlines that sprang up after the U.S. industry was deregulated in 1978.

Japan Car Quotas: Should Plants in U.S. Count?

By John Holusha New York Times Service DETROIT — Skirmishing over next year's limits on Japanese car exports to the United States is already under way. Some top executives of Detroit's auto companies are arguing that the Japanese government should take into consideration the increasing output from Japanese-owned plants in the United States in setting the limits.

The report downplayed the dollar's recent weakness and predicted the U.S. currency would stabilize around 1.70 Deutsche marks in 1988. The report also said inflation would be about 1.5 percent in 1988, up from 1 percent in 1987, and that unemployment would rise from its current level of 9.3 percent.

Shearson Agrees to Talk With Hutton on a Merger

Shearson Lehman Brothers, the big investment firm, said Monday that E.F. Hutton Group Inc. had approached it about a merger. Shearson said it hoped to begin negotiations "as soon as possible."

Table with columns: AMEX Most Active, Val, High, Low, Last, Chg. Includes various stock symbols and prices.

INTERNATIONAL STOCK MARKETS

Ever More Global Markets Challenge the Regulators

By JEFF GERTH New York Times Service WASHINGTON — In the wake of last month's stock market plunge, world financial regulators have intensified their effort to change outdated national rules to cope with an increasingly global market.

You have global markets and institutions with national standards and rules.

Francis Munde, the British minister for corporate and consumer affairs, called for continued meetings of an informal working group of securities regulators from 10 countries, who met for the first time in December 1986.

Currency Rates

Table of currency rates for various countries including Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, etc.

Interest Rates

Table of interest rates for various currencies and terms, including 1-month, 3-month, 6-month, and 1-year rates.

Key Money Rates

Table of key money rates for various currencies and terms, including 1-month, 3-month, 6-month, and 1-year rates.

U.S. Money Market Funds

Table of U.S. money market funds, including Merrill Lynch Realty Assets, 30-day average yield, and other fund metrics.

Gold

Table of gold prices for various locations including New York, London, and other international markets.

Sony Buyout Cages DAT's Top Critic

NEW YORK — Sony Corp.'s \$2 billion buyout of CBS Records, announced last week, brings together the leading maker of digital audio tape recorders, or DAT, and the record company that has led a worldwide anti-DAT campaign.

U.S. Money Market Funds

Table of U.S. money market funds, including Merrill Lynch Realty Assets, 30-day average yield, and other fund metrics.

Gold

Table of gold prices for various locations including New York, London, and other international markets.

Advertisement for ALG air service, featuring the slogan 'More business leaders fly ALG than any other custom air service in Europe.' Includes contact information for GENEVA and PARIS offices.

Advertisement for Audemars Piguet watches, featuring the slogan 'THE FIRST AUTOMATIC ULTRA-THIN PERPETUAL CALENDAR IN THE WORLD.' Includes an image of a watch and contact information for the company.

U.S. Money Market Funds

Table of U.S. money market funds, including Merrill Lynch Realty Assets, 30-day average yield, and other fund metrics.

Monday's NYSE Closing

Tables include the national prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

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U.S. Futures

Via The Associated Press

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Poland Considers Trading Equity for A Debt Writeoff

WARSAW — Poland might be willing to trade debt obligations for shares in state-owned companies to ease problems in servicing its \$36 billion foreign debt, a deputy finance minister said Monday. The official, Andrzej Dorosz, said the government would consider approving debt-for-equity swaps, under which Western creditors would receive shares in Polish companies in exchange for writing off Polish debt. "If there is substantial interest such operations could be carried out," Mr. Dorosz said at a news conference. "We at the Finance Ministry cannot see any formal or substantial objections."

NYSE High-Lows

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Paris Commodities

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London Commodities

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Dividends

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S&P 100 Index Options

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Table with columns: Call, Put, Strike, Volume

DM Futures Options

Table with columns: Strike, Call, Put, Volume

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U.S. Treasuries

Table with columns: Maturity, Bid, Offer, Yield

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Table with columns: Maturity, Bid, Offer, Yield

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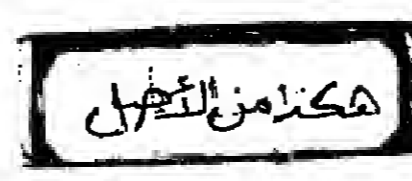
Table with columns: Maturity, Bid, Offer, Yield

Iraq Reportedly Owes Japan Firm

TOKYO — Fujita Corp., a Tokyo-based construction company, has been unable to collect 12.5 billion yen (\$92.6 million) that it says Iraq owes for a highway project, according to the news agency Kyodo. The agency reported over the weekend that the debt stemmed from a 6.7 billion yen contract awarded to Fujita in 1979 for the road project. It was part of a 750-mile (1,200-kilometer) expressway from Baghdad to close to the border with Jordan and Syria, but work has been suspended because of the Iran-Iraq war. Kyodo quoted sources as saying that after a series of negotiations, Iraq agreed to repay only 2 billion yen against Fujita's demand for at least 14.5 billion yen in damages incurred from the delayed work and related costs.

Cash Incentives Offered On Some Ford Models

DEARBORN, Michigan — Ford Motor Co. has announced a new buyer-incentive program that gives customers a cash allowance of up to \$600 on selected cars and extends the expiration date for a \$500 allowance already being offered on some small trucks. The new cash allowances, which are effective immediately, will expire with existing allowances on Jan. 12. Certain offerings of special, financial services or incentives in real estate provided in this newspaper are not authorized in certain jurisdictions in which the International Herald Tribune is published, including the United States of America, and do not constitute offerings of securities, services or interests in any jurisdiction. The International Herald Tribune assumes no responsibility whatsoever for any advertisements for offerings of any kind.



CURRENCY MARKETS

Dollar Slips in Budget Reaction

NEW YORK — The dollar closed lower Monday against major currencies amid uncertainty over the new U.S. budget-cutting package, dealers said.

Dealers were disappointed in the agreement reached Friday, which would cut spending and raise revenues by \$76 billion over fiscal 1988 and 1989.

"We wrestled with the budget for weeks and got nothing out of the negotiating match," said a dealer at one U.S. bank.

Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, voiced a widespread market concern when he said Monday that it remained to be seen whether Congress would approve the budget cuts.

In New York, the dollar closed at 1.6740 Deutsche marks, down from 1.6825 at the close Friday, and at 134.90 yen, down from 135.60. The dollar was also weaker against the British pound, which closed at \$1.7840, against \$1.778 on Friday.

Dealers said there was uncertainty on how Japan and West Germany would react to the U.S. deficit cuts and on whether Congress would weaken the accord.

"None of the traders seem willing to stick their necks out right now," said Bob Hatcher of Barclays Bank.

Earlier, the dollar closed lower in Europe amid worries about the U.S. budget-cutting package, dealers said.

In London, the dollar closed at 1.6680 DM, down from 1.6803 DM at Friday's close, and at 134.65 yen, down from 135.50. The British pound rose to \$1.7905 against the dollar from \$1.7803 on Friday.

The dollar stayed within narrow ranges all day after opening more than 1 penny lower.

Analysis noted that details of the deficit-cutting package remained unclear and that the plan might be altered during debate in Congress. Many dealers said that the dollar's immediate prospects were unclear.

Noting that many operators were still holding short dollar positions, one dealer said that lack of a firm downward trend Monday might herald short-covering ahead

Table with 3 columns: Currency, Mon, Fri. Includes Deutsche mark, Pounds sterling, Japanese yen, Swiss franc, French franc.

of the Thanksgiving holiday in the United States on Thursday. "Personally," said one dealer, "I think we've probably seen the lows for the year for the dollar."

Mr. Hatcher of Barclays, referring to the budget accord, said: "The actual reductions in spending don't seem to have satisfied the market. The bottom line seems to be a lower dollar over the medium to long term."

Despite the dollar's bearish tone, dealers expected the dollar to trade in a narrow range for the week. U.S. corporations are expected to be closed both Thursday and Friday for the Thanksgiving holiday.

The Tokyo market was closed Monday for a holiday. Dealers said participants are unwilling to sell dollars heavily after Friday's volatile trading.

Traders are awaiting economic figures due next month on the impact on the U.S. economy of the October collapse in share prices.

A response to the budget package by West Germany and Japan could lay the groundwork for a meeting of the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, though no plans have been announced for such a meeting. The Group of Seven could agree on steps to stabilize the world economic situation.

Central Bank In Oslo Tries to Prop Up Krone

OSLO — Norway's central bank bought kroner Monday in the foreign exchange markets to try to stem a flood of selling.

The bank declined comment. The krone had fallen by 0.8 percent Monday against a basket of 14 trade-weighted currencies.

"Big international investors in the markets have no more confidence in Norway's economy," said Oystein Lund of Den Norske Creditbank.

Dealers said the crisis at Statoil, the state-controlled oil firm, had damaged confidence. They also cited the fall in the dollar's value and the fact that oil prices have slipped.

Statoil's managing director, Arve Johnsen, said Sunday he would resign if Statoil's new board asked him to, and Oil Minister Arne Oeien said Monday he expected the board to do so. Mr. Johnsen has been criticized over cost overruns in a refinery project; Statoil's old board resigned last week.

GLOBAL: Regulators Challenged By Interdependent Yet 'National' Markets

(Continued from first finance page) Corp. and the Bank of China, the Beijing bank that handles foreign exchange and international settlements.

The ready availability of cash or liquidity to the financial system is important because the inability of one participant to meet its obligations can set off a chain reaction of failures. In 1931, when the markets were in a state of panic, the

agreements are vague because of national disputes and the reluctance of central bankers to make specific commitments in public.

Lowell L. Bryan, a director of the consulting company McKinsey & Co. who specializes in financial institutions, favors the establishment of a world central bank.

"The lender of last resort falls on national central banks," he said, and there is a "question about whether central banks will favor their own institutions, their own nationalities."

Securities regulators are not as well coordinated. But last week's remarks by Mr. Maude, the British minister for corporate affairs, suggested that discussions among regulators of 10 countries, which have focused on enforcement questions, could broaden like those of the bank regulators, to include issues such as common accounting, auditing, and disclosure standards.

"The payments system is where defaults would take place," Mr. Bryan, the financial consultancy executive, said. "We need more of a risk-free settlement system."

In recent years, central banks from leading Western nations, acting under the auspices of the Bank for International Settlements, in Basel, Switzerland, have agreed on guidelines for international bank supervision and responsibility for serving as lender of last resort. These statements, one in 1975 and another in 1983, called the Basel Concordats, grew out of ripples in the international financial system.

GERMAN: Tepid Growth

(Continued from first finance page) could be above the rate expected by the council," they said.

The United States and most of West Germany's European trading partners have pressed Bonn repeatedly to quicken the pace of economic growth as a means of boosting import levels and reducing global trade imbalances. The West German economy is Europe's largest.

Since the global stock market collapse, some domestic economists have also called for the government to stimulate growth by moving up implementation of tax cuts scheduled for 1990, to guard against global recession. Despite the pressure, the government has promised only to consider possible measures and has firmly rejected advancing the tax cuts, citing inflationary fears.

That view was supported by four of the council members. Only Rudiger Pohl, who is an economic advisor to the opposition Social Democratic party, supported the demands for faster growth.

Mr. Pohl said growth in the medium term had to be strengthened because the weak rate would continue through 1988.

"This suggests, contrary to the opinion of the majority of the council, that the tax reforms should be implemented as soon as possible," Mr. Pohl said. He also urged the Bundesbank, West Germany's central bank, to continue its relatively expansive monetary policies.

Private economists took issue with some components of the forecast.

"My projections are for GNP growth of 1.3 percent in 1988," said Brendan Brown, an international economist with County NatWest in London. "The main depressive influence will be export volume, which I see growing only about 1.5 percent, rather than the 3.5 percent predicted by the West German economic research institutes."

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ROBECO GENEVA ACCOUNT

JAPAN: The Lessons of Spending More, Saving Less Seem to Be Sinking In

(Continued from Page 1) recovery. A reflationary spending package worth 6.5 trillion yen (\$48.5 billion), announced by the government earlier this year, has begun to fuel demand, particularly in the construction industry.

Stock market gains, rising wages and a dramatic rise in property prices this year have encouraged increased spending among individuals. This has helped spur a 7 percent increase in capital investment, according to a recent survey by Industrial Bank of Japan, which forecast investment growth of only 4.6 percent last March.

Nationwide statistics for the trend in Japan's savings rate are not yet available for 1987, but in a narrow government survey of wage earners the savings rate dropped to 17 percent by the end of August from 21.3 percent in 1986.

Among manufacturers, fixed investment is continuing a slowdown that began with the yen's rise in late 1985. But the 3 percent drop anticipated in the recent Industrial Bank survey compares with an expectation in March of a 5 percent decline.

Sony Corp., Hitachi Ltd., Sanyo and other leading Japanese corporations have all announced plans over the past several weeks to boost capital-investment plans. Broad gains in corporate profits are now forecast for the first time since in two years.

The nature of the recovery has also altered Japan's import mix. Consumer goods now account for almost a third of total imports as measured in dollar terms, compared with 18 percent at the end of 1985. A corresponding decline in raw materials imports has been evident during the same period.

This is significant, some economists believe, because it suggests that imports will begin to increase at a faster rate than in the past. Demand for consumer products will prove more elastic than demand for raw materials, according to that view.

"As far as import consumption goes, I think it's very much a secular shift," said David Gerstenhaber, senior economist at Morgan Stanley International Ltd. in Tokyo. "A lot of conditions have changed dramatically in a very short period of time."

For much of the year, the largest gains in imports have come from Asia and Europe. Imports from

South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong are up more than 50 percent in dollar terms this year, reflecting greater Japanese investment in the region and higher consumption of intermediate goods such as electronic components.

Growth in imports from the United States was disappointing until recently. But a bulge in Japan's gold purchases from the United States last year has exaggerated the lag, economists say.

Excluding that item, growth in U.S. sales to Japan now almost matches the 25 percent increase recorded in imports from Europe so far this year.

Accordingly, there is some optimism that the U.S. trade deficit with Japan, which has become a dangerous political irritant in the U.S. Congress, will shrink substantially next year. A number of economists expect the imbalance to approach \$35 billion a year from now.

The question now is how long the Japanese consumption boom will last. Despite the long-term significance of new buying patterns and a slowly changing attitude toward savings, the economy's health is still underpinned by Japan's traditional export markets.

While manufacturers have adjusted to the higher value of the yen, further increases - above the level of 130 yen to the dollar - are likely to be newly painful for Japanese exporters, economists say. So, of course, would a downturn in the U.S. economy.

"We'll maintain this pace until next fall, when the U.S. economy will go into recession," predicted Hiroshi Takeuchi, managing director and chief economist at Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan.

"When exports come down rapidly again, wages will remain static and spending will drop."

In the longer term, Japan's ability to continue shifting toward domestic growth is likely to depend on how effectively Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who took office earlier this month, can push through a number of stimulative economic reforms. But the momentum that has emerged this year is viewed widely as a lasting phenomenon.

"Domestic demand is growing so rapidly that the impact of further declines in export volume is unlikely to be particularly significant," Mr. Gerstenhaber asserted.



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Monday's AMEX Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. In The Associated Press

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div. Yld. PE	52 Wk. High	Low	Close	Chg.
12 1/2	11 1/2	Amgen	1.86/13.3	8	11 1/2	11 1/2	+
12 1/2	11 1/2	Amgen	1.86/13.3	8	11 1/2	11 1/2	+
12 1/2	11 1/2	Amgen	1.86/13.3	8	11 1/2	11 1/2	+
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12 1/2	11 1/2	Amgen	1.86/13.3	8	11 1/2	11 1/2	+
12 1/2	11 1/2	Amgen	1.86/13.3	8	11 1/2	11 1/2	+

U.S. Energy Secretary Doubts OPEC Can Hold Oil Price at \$18 a Barrel

WASHINGTON — U.S. Energy Secretary John S. Herrington said Monday that OPEC would have difficulty agreeing to hold the price of oil at \$18 a barrel at its semi-annual conference next month in Vienna.

In an interview, Mr. Herrington said one reason the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries would have trouble was that Iran has been discounting its oil by as much as \$3 a barrel in an effort to raise money for its war with Iraq. He said the falling dollar, on which oil prices are based, also caused problems, as did the differing goals of members of the group's members.

Meanwhile, in Riyadh, an Oil Ministry official said that Saudi Arabia would oppose any move to raise OPEC prices before the end of next year, unless demand should rise substantially. The official, who was not named, was quoted by the Saudi Press Agency.

"OPEC is going to have some problems in its December meeting," Mr. Herrington said. "The falling dollar is going to create a certain degree of chaos among the negotiations about what the world price should be."

He said the cartel might consider pricing its oil on the basis of the International Monetary Fund's basket of currencies to shield it from the fall in the dollar's value, although he said this had been rejected in the past.

Mr. Herrington said the Reagan administration was continuing to try to persuade Japan and other major buyers of Iranian oil to join the U.S. embargo, but so far Tokyo has been reluctant. The Japanese, he said, "are one of the richest countries in the world today and it would be the right thing for them to do to join this embargo."

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SPORTS

NFL's Oilers, Chargers Take Their Lumps, but Saints Go Marching On

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NEW YORK — The Houston Oilers and San Diego Chargers have found themselves far from winning division titles...

NFL ROUNDUP

their first playoff berth ever by downing the defending Super Bowl champion New York Giants. Browns 40, Oilers 7; In Houston, Earnest Byner rushed for two touchdowns...

Toronto and Edmonton Win, Will Clash in CFL's Grey Cup

WINNIPEG, Manitoba — Quarterback Gilbert Renfro picked apart a highly touted Winnipeg secondary as Toronto posted a 19-3 victory in Sunday's Canadian Football League Eastern Division final...



Against San Diego, Seattle's Steve Largent extended his NFL pass-reception record to 147 straight regular-season games.

crowd at the Louisiana Superdome in three seasons. "This feels really good," said receiver Eric Martin. "And this city is excited about it..."

In Tour Finale, Graf Has Her Just Desserts

By Peter Alfano
New York Times Staff

NEW YORK — There was an occasional sign of frustration as Steffi Graf muttered to herself in German, swatted a ball or two in annoyance...

the French Open title because it has an elite field — the top 16 players — and is played at the end of the year...

Graf said she even spent Saturday night trying to think of an analogy for her success in 1987...

Graf categorized her victories as appetizer, main course or dessert. This championship was part of dessert...

But Sabatini made her work for it. After a lack of stamina has been Sabatini's primary weakness thus far...



Steffi Graf: "A nice ending."

China Gearing Up for Millennium Games

By Michael Janofsky
New York Times Staff

NEW YORK — Chinese Olympic officials are well along in their plans for staging the 1990 Asian Games...

OLYMPICS NOTEBOOK

Games in Beijing, an event they expect to enhance their chance of winning a bid to become host for the Summer Olympic Games in 2000...

will have the Olympics in 2000. Miao Shubao, the general manager of the China Sports Service Co...

Miao and Chen Han Zhang, the deputy director of the fund-raising department of the Asian Games...

number of Chinese companies were becoming sponsors and that the Asian Broadcast Union intended to televise the Asian Games regionally...

David Simon, a Los Angeles attorney who worked for the 1984 Olympic organizing committee...

SCOREBOARD

Football

Selected U.S. College Conference Standings

Table with columns for conference names (Atlantic Coast, Big Ten, etc.) and team standings with W, L, T, P, C, S, B, A, G, H, D, F, S, C, T, R, O, N, I, T, A, N, S.

Basketball

NBA Standings

Table with columns for Eastern Conference and Atlantic Division, listing teams and their records.

NFL Standings

Table with columns for American Conference and National Conference, listing teams and their records.

Hockey

NHL Standings

Table with columns for Wales Conference and Campbell Conference, listing teams and their records.

U.S. College Results

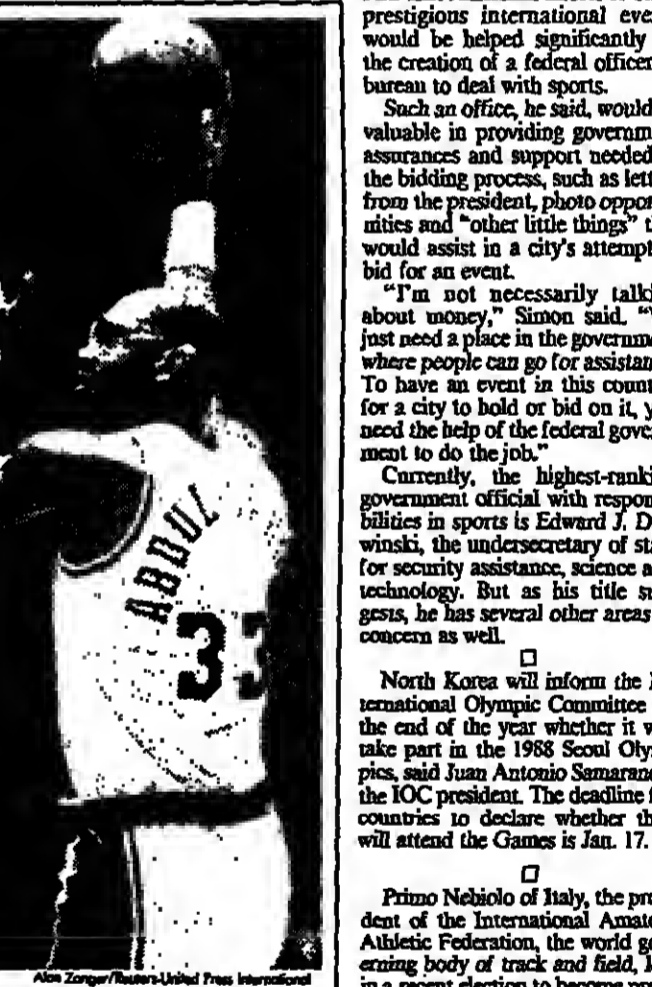
Table listing various college sports results including basketball, football, and tennis.

Transition

BASEBALL: National League, Philadelphia Phillies, Atlanta Braves, New York Yankees. FOOTBALL: National Football League, Miami Dolphins, New England Patriots.

Good, but Not Good Enough

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar scored over Randy Breer on his second-period sky hook Sunday in Inglewood, California...



Kareem Abdul-Jabbar scored over Randy Breer on his second-period sky hook Sunday in Inglewood, California...

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ART BUCHWALD

A Real Minority Report

WASHINGTON—I think everyone should make up his own mind about what the Iran-contra affair means without coaching from Capitol Hill. I must admit I was not satisfied with the majority report or the minority report issued by members of Congress...



Buchwald

relaxed and at peace with himself. Evidence at the hearings indicated the president was not only unaware that Admiral Poindexter and Colonel North were involved in a covert operation—he didn't know either man was in Washington.

A Final Triumph for Laser Pioneer

By Carla Hall Washington Post Service WASHINGTON—Gordon Gould is the kind of person you look at and, knowing what he's been through, still say he's none the worse for wear. Then again, maybe he created this contented persona to hide decades of anger. He's frequently asked if he's bitter and he always smiles a little ruefully and says "No."

and high-tech companies, and estimates his worth from that at \$3 million to \$4 million. "I'm worth about \$20 million," he says. And because the laser business has become so widespread in the past few years, it's more lucrative for him to have his patents now than it would have been during the 1960s and early 1970s.

ray," gave the project \$1 million and classified it. A dalliance with a Marxist study group the previous decade cost Gould the necessary security clearance to work on the project with his own notes, which the government had confiscated. Three years later the government declassified the notebooks, which Gould had copied.

Japanese Donor Opens Wing of Israeli Museum

A Japanese businessman, Ryuzo Sasakawa, inaugurated a new wing at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art in Haifa, Israel, that was made possible through his donation of \$1.5 million. At the inaugural ceremony Sasakawa, 88, expressed his admiration for Israel and its people, who have so much in common with the Japanese.

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QUAI D'ORSAY View from 2nd floor, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, high floor, 3rd room.

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15th FLOOR FAIRLY charming large flat in 15th floor, bright, light, modern.

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PARIS AREA FURNISHED 16th FLOOR APARTMENT, 100 sqm, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms.

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